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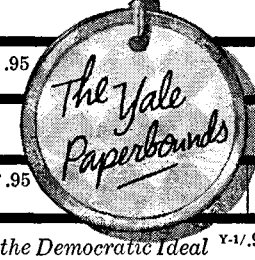

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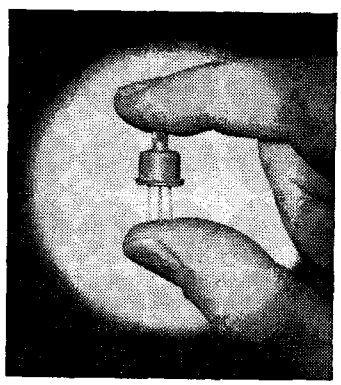

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Alienation and the Decline of Utopia

KENNETH KENISTON

THIS IS AN AGE THAT INSPIRES LITTLE ENTHUSIASM. In the industrial West, and increasingly now in the uncommitted nations of the East, ardor is lacking; instead men talk of their growing distance from one another, from their social order, from their work and play, and even from the values that in a perhaps romanticized past seem to have given their lives cohesiveness and direction. Horatio Alger is replaced by Timon, Napoleon by Ishmael, and even Lincoln now seems pallid before the defiant images of "hoods" and "beats." The vocabulary of social commentary is dominated by terms that characterize this distance: alienation, estrangement, separation, withdrawal, indifference, disaffection, apathy, noninvolvement, neutralism—all these words describe the increasing distance between men and their former objects of love, commitment, loyalty, devotion and reverence. Alienation, once seen as the consequence of a cruel (but changeable) economic order, has become for many the central fact of human existence, characterizing man's "thrown-ness" into a world in which he has no inherent place. Formerly imposed *upon* men by the world around them, estrangement increasingly is chosen *by* them as their dominant reaction to the world.

These tendencies can of course be exaggerated in individual cases. As many or probably more men and women lead individually decent and human lives as ever did. There are pockets of enthusiasm in every nation. Old values are clung to the more tenaciously by some as they are disregarded by others. But other facts are

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equally incontrovertible: that there has seldom been as great confusion about what is valid and good as there is now; that more and more men and women are fundamentally alienated from what their culture offers them; that hopeful visions of the future, idealisms and utopias become increasingly rare and difficult. In short, the *direction* of cultural change is from commitment and enthusiasm to alienation and apathy.

In the comments to follow I shall take it for granted that this change is taking place,[1] and will explore two questions which seem to me important to its understanding: Why are young people increasingly unwilling to accept what their culture offers them? And, closely related to this, why do we lack positive visions of the future?

But before turning to these questions, I should like to consider briefly one possible explanation of alienation—if only to exclude it from consideration here. Several years of research into the psychology of alienation have shown that, as might be expected, unhappy home lives, disillusionments and unresolved breaks in personal relationships predispose young men to spurn their cultures.[2] But such psychological explanations, however relevant in individual cases, explain both too much and too little. On the one hand, the accidents of an individual's past life are all too often used to "explain away" his present views, as if these could be nothing but a reflection of his own psychic conflicts. A man's views of the world are in fact much more than this; furthermore, an unhappy life can make him perceptive of actual inequities that remain unperceived by his more fortunate fellows. On the other hand, psychological accounts alone are seldom adequate to explain attitudes and stances that characterize large numbers of people simultaneously. To understand these as social phenomena, we must trace the complicated interplay of cultural and historical forces which,

[1] As such, this essay omits many of the qualifications and hesitations that would be necessary to a more scientific account. Rather than to cite at each point the tendencies countervailing to the alienative direction of culture, I have preferred, if anything, to overstate the severity and generality of the problem. But such counter-examples come readily to mind, and are important since they point to possible sources of commitment.

[2] I have conducted this research at the Prince House Annex of Harvard University, under the supervision of Dr. Henry A. Murray, supported by grants from the National Institute of Mental Health.

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by their influence on individual families and the other agencies of "socialization," produce individuals who are unusually sensitized to special aspects of their environment. A more complete account of alienation would seek to detail these influences. Here, however, I will concentrate on only one aspect of the problem—namely, on the cultural context in which and to which predisposed individuals react with alienation.

Coming of Age in America

Growing up is always a problem, whether in Samoa, Nigeria or Yonkers. It entails abandoning those special prerogatives, world-views, insights and pleasures that are defined by the culture as specifically "childish" and substituting for them the rights, responsibilities, outlooks and satisfactions that are suitable for the culturally defined "adult." Although the concepts of "childish" and "adult" differ from one culture to another, every culture requires *some* change in the child's habitual ways of thinking, feeling and acting—a change which involves psychic dislocation and therefore constitutes a "problem" for the individual and the culture. The transition may be relatively painless, especially when the adult's role is viewed as the more attractive and children are therefore eager to grow up; it may be eased or hastened by elaborate ceremonials and rites of passage, whose wan vestiges we see in today's graduation day exercises; or it may be delayed by a socially sanctioned "moratorium" that permits young men and women to experiment with adult identities until they find one which suits them. In societies where the transition to adulthood is unusually painful, young people often form their own "youth culture" with a special set of anti-adult values and institutions, in which they can at least temporarily negate the feared life of the adult. But somehow children must be induced to accept their roles as adults if the society is to continue.

Youth culture as we know it in America is a characteristic American transition from childhood to adulthood, a kind of socially ambivalent and indefinitely prolongable moratorium. Cen-

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tral to all forms of youth culture is the absence of a straight and smooth transition to what the culture defines as "adult roles." Instead, the American version of youth culture offers a hiatus—an eddy, a whirlpool, a waiting period or even a final resting point—in which young men and women adopt a way of life that constitutes a protest against the adult world. It may take the form of being a "hood," being "beat," being "Joe College," being a bohemian, intellectually rejecting the whole trapping and tradition of American culture, or—less obviously—simply being utterly indifferent to the many voices and beckonings of the wider society.

It is important to define "youth culture" broadly enough to include not only those who protest through word or deed, but those who reject through inaction.[3] Overt rebellion, in the sense of programmatic and revolutionary activity, is extremely rare in our society; and even overtly antisocial behavior, despite our fascination with deviance, is relatively rare. Much more common is that covert rejection of society that Riesman has called "inner emigration," a term broad enough to include not only those who consciously absent themselves from what they see as the "American way of life," but those who remain inwardly silent, apathetic, bored and uncommitted, even while outwardly going through the motions of participation. To be bored or indifferent to something is in many ways the supreme rejection of it. Even opposition and antagonism constitute recognition of the object; boredom simply denies that its existence is significant. "Silent generations" and "angry young men" share a common rejection of their culture: the first rejecting through lack of response, the other through open opposition.

We would idealize the past if we thought that these problems were unique to individuals of our time: thousands of young men

[3] Youth culture is obviously not the only form of alienation, but in our society it is the most characteristic and prevalent expression of cultural disaffection. Intellectuals have always been to some extent dissidents, and over the past three centuries, have become increasingly disaffected. What is remarkable is therefore not the small group of intellectuals who are articulate critics of society, but the growing group of young people of all talents who enter into an increasingly protracted period of disengagement from the dominant values and roles of their culture. Indeed, youth culture is now such a fact of life in this country that we become aware of it only by contrasting our society with others in which children move more directly into adulthood.

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have found it difficult to accept the adulthood which their worlds offered them, many have left accounts of their perplexities, and a few have made significant changes in their cultures as a result of their dissatisfactions. Furthermore, "adolescent rebellion" has always been a special feature of melting-pot America, with its lack of clear traditions and clear definitions of the good life. But in the past those who rejected their cultures were generally the brilliant or tragic exceptions to their age, the Kierkegaardian "individuals" who could not accept the solutions embraced by their fellows. Now, however, it is increasingly the youth who *does* accept adult roles with enthusiasm and without hesitation who is the exception. In the past "adolescent rebellion" has been almost by definition a transient phase, which one "grew out of" later by a genuine acceptance of what the culture offered; what we deal with today is not always so happily resolved.

If, then, "youth culture" is characterized by a rejection of the "adult world" through hostility or indifference, and if this rejection is both more widespread and more enduring than in previous generations, how can we account for the change? In the United States, a number of specific historical factors conspire to augment the importance and possibility of youthful deviance and indifference: the absence of any clear tradition except the rejection of tradition; the relative comfort and ease of life, which gives young men time and implements to express their disaffection; the instability of American families, which provides a reservoir of young people prepared to generalize their private hurts to public plaints, and so on. But I doubt that these factors, important as they are in explaining the particular forms and recruiting policies of American youth culture, suffice to explain its existence—nor are they adequate to explain the Teddy Boys of England, Italy or Greece, the quickly suppressed hooligans of Moscow, or the rebellious "dry" youth of Japan. A more general explanation of youth culture (and of the present extent of alienation) seems to me to lie in the social and cultural situation created by a highly successful industrial society—a society which asks for more from an adult, offers less in return, and yet encourages higher aspirations than any before it.

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Three closely related social trends help to explain the increasing distastefulness of our culture to its potential recruits. One of these is what we might call the gap between the cultural images of the child and of the adult—the first (apperceived as) integral, concrete, immediate and spontaneous; the other (as) dissociated, abstract, specialized and conformist. Second, even when the youth is willing to "choose" the adult world as he sees it, it is difficult for him to know *what* to choose; adult roles in our society are ambiguously defined and subject to unpredictable and drastic changes. Finally, the vast increase in our material wealth and power has made us less willing to acquiesce to the nonmaterial deprivations that adulthood seems to involve. Although we are seldom able to articulate our ideals clearly and forcefully, our level of aspiration has increased and the number of conditions we are willing to accept as "inevitable tragedies of life" has correspondingly decreased.

Childhood vs. adulthood. It is by now a sociological commonplace that the high standard of living in industrial societies has been partly the result of an increasing division of labor. Division of labor demands that men do highly specialized jobs in the preparation of the final product; the assembly line, our mythology has it, is more efficient than Henry Ford in his garage. "Efficiency" has historically meant that men were trained to do ever more specific and detailed work with an increasing degree of expertise—sometimes even in traditional occupations like teaching, where efficiency was once considered irrelevant at best. The routine and mechanical nature of work on an assembly line is the classic illustration of this trend toward specialization. But even in highly skilled jobs, "automated jobs," or work in service industries, routine and specialization are almost as marked: watching the controls of a self-regulating machine, feeding cards into a computer, or running a cash register in a supermarket, does not differ markedly in this respect from screwing bolts into an incipient refrigerator motor. These jobs have in common that they require highly compartmentalized, specialized work which is monotonous and repetitive, and which, above all, enlists a very small proportion of the worker's total talent and understanding.

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They are also alike in their distance from the final use of the work—from the man who sits in the chair made by the automated machine, from the actual receipt of the payments calculated by the computer, or from eating the food bought in the supermarket. Furthermore, the operations required of the worker are themselves highly abstract, in that they select a small number of the total features of the environment as relevant to the task. The total environment of the cash register operator includes the personalities of her customers; the "job-relevant" features of that environment include only the price of the groceries. In other words, most work is not only *specialized* in terms of the worker's total talents, but it bears a highly *abstract* and distant relation to the final use of the product.

The specialization and abstractness of work is increasingly characteristic of professional roles as well. One is not merely a lawyer, but a Corporation Lawyer specializing in Problems of Investment; one does not simply teach literature, but French Literature (Late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance); one is rarely now simply a doctor, but rather a Gastro-enterologist. Even relatively intact fields like architecture are being divided into subdivisions of city planning, industrial design, et cetera. Between the lawyer and the client stands the Law Firm; between the teacher and the student stands the Field, the Dean, the Grader, the Reader and the Section Man; even the doctor seldom deals with the entire patient. The professional man is forced to develop one skill to the neglect of others; his relation to the subject of his work becomes increasingly distant, partial and abstract.

These features of work extend into a number of other areas of life in our society: they can be seen in the increasing distance between work roles, family roles, and play; they are manifest in the formalization of on-the-job and off-the-job personal relationships; they are reflected even in the advertisements of job opportunities which seek to counter the fear that work will be overly specialized ("varied, *interesting* work"). But they are above all apparent in the relationship between fantasy and work.

Imagination is at its best when it is related to, but not tied to, the problems that confront the imaginer in his everyday life. When

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this is not the case, we can speak of the *dissociation of fantasy*: fantasy then not only has a life of its own, but this life bears little relationship and has little relevance to everyday life except as an escape. It is perhaps unreasonable to expect that every act of an individual be garlanded with rich imaginative and symbolic meaning; yet acts that are so enriched assume significance far beyond their immediate consequences. When imagination and life are separated, imagination continues to operate but becomes sterile and escapist, no longer deepening life but impoverishing it at the expense of another dream world that contains all that real life lacks.

The dissociation of fantasy is increasingly a characteristic of our social order. Never before have such quantities of "packaged fantasy" been so available and so eagerly consumed. In *Raw* magazine the IBM operator reads of cannibalism on the Amazon while the computer relentlessly writes checks; the benign image of Arthur Godfrey lulls the housewife through her routine housework; the fearless exploits of Batman counter the dull afternoon monotony of P.S. No. 117; and the tired and friendly businessman relaxes in the evening to the sadism of Mickey Spillane. The point about these packaged forms of imagination is not that they are in themselves new, but that their prevalence, availability and acceptance are new.

To be sure, insofar as private fantasies are projected onto a television screen or into a comic book where they can be shared with others, this may, under the right circumstances, tie society together more cohesively. But the price of cohesion is high. For one thing, our shared fantasies are almost entirely contrasts or oppositions to daily life: they contrast with the lack of violence or intense passion in the average man's life, and with the specialization and abstraction of his work. Thus, they seldom serve to enrich life, but rather to vitiate its imaginative vitalities. The "self-alienation" of which Fromm and others have written is an alienation of man from his own creative potentialities, imbedded in his fantasy life. When a man's primary contact with his own imagination is through the negative visions of the comic book or the television screen, these potentialities remain unexpressed. Social cohesion, if

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thus gained, is not cohesion of shared goals but of shared escapes and dreads. Fantasy that deepens the meaning of work, love or play becomes less and less potent.

Finally, we should mention the much-discussed theme of "conformity," "loss of individuality," "massification," et cetera. Without attempting to judge whether "individuality" is in fact on the wane, we can state with certainty that most observers *believe* that it is; and that most intellectuals are continually on guard against conformity in any form. Perhaps this belief is more important to our questions than the actual facts, whatever they be. For the fear of conformity is closely related to the topics we have discussed: specialization, abstraction and the dissociation of fantasy. Lacking symbolically meaningful work and relationships, men have almost no alternative but to see instances where they act like their fellows as acts of conformity.[4] Were adult roles viewed as exciting and fulfilling, there could be little problem for most men and women, even the most discriminating, about conforming to the adult world. What makes conformity appear as a danger is that what one conforms to seems so humanly unappealing. Whatever the actual nature of society, if a significant portion of those who are asked to constitute the community in the next generation view it as unattractive, they will be reluctant to accept their task. In the case of American youth, this reluctance is heightened by the sharply contrasting image (and to a lesser extent, facts) of childhood in our society.

Childhood in America is defined as a time for the development of the total personality and the cultivation of a fresh immediate perception of the world; as a time when fantasy and life are still inextricably connected through the rituals of work and play, and when there is still room for spontaneity and hooky-playing nonconformity. These definitions are important not only because we view our childhoods in their terms, but because they correspond

[4] No one argues against conformity with others in a good cause; what is opposed and seen as universal is conformity for the sake of conformity—"keeping up with the Joneses," "not standing out." The problem of conformity is coextensive with the lack of good causes. Were such causes readily apparent, we could perhaps discuss specific instances of conformity more concretely in terms of whether conformity to this or that pattern was justified in terms of our ends.

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in fact with important aspects of our own (and all men's) childhoods. Childhood is a time for experimentation and the use of diverse talents; the child is not yet expected to limit himself to any one area of endeavor or accomplishment. And children—although certainly members of their cultures—have not yet so assimilated its norms as to develop that capacity for selective inattention and special emphasis which marks the "successfully socialized" adult in any society. (Wisdom comes from the mouths of babes because they have yet to learn the cultural taboos about what can be noticed and said without fear of reprisal.) The experience of the child, furthermore, tends to be less abstract and conceptualized than that of the adult: where the meteorologist sees signs of rain, the child sees fluffy clouds; the engineer who now contemplates the design of the Brooklyn Bridge may have once seen a graceful structure in mid-air. For many adults, the immediacy and aesthetic depth of childhood experiences are never equalled in later life.

Another characteristic of childhood in most societies, including our own, is what we can call "integral fantasy." The child's imagination operates on the objects of his daily environment, which become mythologized—first invested with supernatural attributes and later loaded with a cargo of associations and mental images that add to the meaning of the "realistically perceived" object. What we usually call "immediacy of perception" is, above all, perception in close touch with imagination, in which the stimulus—the cloud or person or bridge—is allowed to act not only on the higher cortex but on the entire psyche, so that the resulting experience is in some sense more "whole" than the pre-eminently adult experience of the physicist watching his laboratory dials. The games of children—played with utter seriousness—illustrate the same closeness of fantasy and reality: the child can work through the problems of growing up, the difficulties of associating with other people, and can learn to master his environment in a setting not at all detached from the other activities of his life. Work, play, love and fantasy are closely intertwined; and the resulting connection is not only useful for the child's development, but independently and inherently satisfying.

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The nonconformity of children can be easily exaggerated, especially in an age of "peer-group morality." Here again, perhaps the most important fact is that we tend to *think of* children as nonconformist, as saying the true but inconvenient thing, as not yet knowing how to behave according to adult standards. Most parents smile indulgently on hooky-playing in all but their own children; and even our impoverished mythology is rich with tales of children who unmask the phoniness of the adult world, expose the bombast of the pedant, and delightfully violate the conformities of the adult. Even allowing for the truthful exaggerations of myth, childhood *is* a time when conformity (to adult standards) is not yet fully required, and when spontaneous and impetuous reactions are far more likely. More than most societies, we allow children a long period of freedom before demanding that they assume adult responsibilities; if children conform, they conform to their own and not the adult's rules.

That we tend to romanticize our childhoods is probably the best evidence of the contrast between the world of the child and that of the adult. Psychologists know all too much of the sufferings of children, and many of us recall the unhappiness of our own childhood. Nonetheless we tend to idealize the first years of our lives, reserving "youthful" as the highest term of praise, and viewing the "innocent" games of children with nostalgia.[5] We see children in the image of Huck Finn, the Catcher in the Rye, and the freckle-faced boys on the covers of our family magazines. Such idealization of one period of life, coupled with a denigration of another, usually has a firm basis in fact (although not always in the facts that are *cited* in evidence for the judgments). Here I think the facts are relatively clear: the values and images we have about a given period of life shape this period and are shaped by it, too: underneath the absolute stereotype lies a real tendency in the same direction.

Childhood emerges well from this comparison with adulthood.

[5] "Innocence" in this context connotes, I think, not only relative ignorance of adult responsibilities and sexuality, but a kind of epistemological naïveté and directness, the same immediacy and aesthetic quality which is to some extent a characteristic of the outlooks of children.

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The adult abandons a world of directness, immediacy, diversity, wholeness, integral fantasy and spontaneity. He gains abstraction, distance, specialization, monotony, dissociated fantasy and conformity. Faced with a transition into an adult world that he sees as denying these very human qualities of childhood, the youth can only hesitate on its threshold. Like the child who is told to go to bed, he falters, drags his feet, becomes angry, creates diversions, by-plays and distractions, changes the subject, seeks so to fascinate the "grown-ups" by his charm, wit or violence that the initial pressures are forgotten—anything to avoid the sensed extinction of bedtime. And even if he is eventually tucked in, the temptation not really to sleep remains very great. The more marked the felt contrast between the bliss one leaves and the emptiness one enters, the greater the foot-dragging, diversion and anger. A vicious circle begins: the world of childhood is romanticized, and the prospect of "settling down," "growing up" and "assuming responsibilities" is seen in an ever blacker light. The Holden Caulfields of this country love children because they love themselves best as children; it is the "phony" grown-ups who are the objects of anger and pity.

One explanation of youth culture, then, is the felt contrast between what is expected of a child and what is expected of a man or woman. The real contrast between the two states has, historically, increased with industrialization. Children's play is more and more separate from adults' work: children no longer work in the fields or factories; instead they go to school, developing their own culture and styles of life appropriate to their age. And adults no longer retain the element of play, total involvement and immediate contact with their work or with the people near them that appear to characterize less industrial societies. Small wonder, then, that there are symptoms of reluctance to enter adulthood. The humanization of childhood has been accompanied by a dehumanization of adulthood: youth culture is one consequence.

The ambiguities of adulthood. Although some separation of the worlds of the child and the adult is a biologically rooted require-

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ment of every society, in ours this separation is probably more complete, more sharply defined, and far more evaluatively laden than in most. But this fact alone will not suffice to explain the widespread and diverse alienation of youth today. Anthropologists have studied other societies with similar contrasts between childhood and adulthood in which no youth culture exists. Adults in these societies may always preserve a nostalgia and envy for youth, they may create myths of a Golden Age in the distant past, and they may individually find the transition into the adult world painful—but the transition is made. To explain why a protracted, sometimes unending, period of delay, rebellion or indifference characterizes adolescence in our society, we must examine adult roles in greater detail.

I have so far spoken of the "adult world" as if Americans had a clear and univocal view of what it is to be an adult. Actually, of course, this is far from true, and the felt characteristics of adult life—specialization, abstraction, dissociated fantasy and conformity —are informal *qualities* of most adult roles rather than formal definitions of what the adult is to do, how he is to behave, what he is to say—how, concretely, he is to run his life. The very absence of, and in some ways the impossibility of, such clear definitions is another factor which makes our social order unattractive. On the one hand, the *variety* of roles now open to young people might seem to make their choice of adulthood less difficult; for given this variety, it should be possible to find some role that "fits" the needs and individuality of the adolescent.

Yet without a criterion for choice, variety itself can be confusing, as when we stand with a small plate before a groaning smorgasbord. Choice becomes even more difficult when variety appears to be chaos, or when variety itself varies kaleidoscopically. And if, finally, we cherish the suspicion that none of what is offered us is as good as that which we are asked to renounce, the temptation to dally, walk away or only nibble often becomes overpowering. The variety of adult roles is so great, and the boundaries of each role so imprecise, that for any but the most resolute or unimaginative, a period of inaction is almost mandatory when faced with choosing

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between them. And the accelerating pace of technological and social change seems to teach us that a definition of adulthood to which we commit ourselves in one decade may prove obsolete in the next. Apart from the shared and unattractive informal qualities we see in adult roles in general, we can seldom be sure precisely what is required to be an adult.

Even such universal adult roles as those of mother and father are variously defined, amorphous and changeable. We lack any but the most minimal legal definitions of these functions in society: physical maintenance and lack of physical cruelty are mandatory. Beyond these legal requirements, however, few universally accepted precepts can be found. A parent should love his or her children, but "love is not enough." Children should be brought up democratically, but they also need the strong hand of authority and parents whom they can admire. Government manuals provide parental advice, but it is the opposite of the advice of twenty years ago. Do parents become anxious about how to raise their children? Then they learn that the worst fault of all is anxiety. Or take another equally basic definition, that of maleness, of what it is to be a man. Here the adolescent boy is confronted with a welter of conflicting pressures, images of violence, tenderness, ambition, renunciation, hardness and sensitivity—all of which actively compete for his attention. If, as is increasingly the case, he is unable or unwilling to accept the models his own parents offer him, the prospect of manhood must be disturbing as well as intriguing.

In the occupational sphere, work roles are somewhat more rigorously defined. But even here, there are wide areas of uncertainty as to precisely what being a lawyer, mechanic, doctor or truck driver will involve. The problem is not so much that the individual is unaware of the operations he would perform as a mechanic or lawyer, but rather that these specific occupational efforts have no associated styles of life, and, in addition, may change under the role-occupier without any warning. Having decided to become a plumber, a young man still has to make all the other decisions about how, where and with whom he will live; an advertising man can live in Greenwich Village, Upper Manhattan, a

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suburb or an exurb. Vocational commitment is only a preface to a series of other decisions that are relatively independent of it: close association between vocation and style of life is a thing of the past. Everyone must in some ways choose an idiosyncratic arrangement of selections from the vast repertory of life-styles available in our cultural juke box.[6]

The increasing rate of social change also makes the stability of adult commitments equivocal. In the past fifty years, our society has changed at a devastating and accelerating pace. Today's world was inconceivable fifty years ago; the world of twenty-five years from today is probably equally unimagined. "Generations," formerly measured by a man's lifespan, now span a decade at most. One of the great problems of an industrial society is to ease the effects of these changes on the members of the society. Technological changes produce job obsolescence and skill obsolescence: painfully learned work techniques may be unwanted in an age of automation. But even deeper stresses result from social changes that replace one ethic and ethos with another, making obsolete not only a man's skills, but often the entire structure of his character and outlook. Partly to cope with these stresses, new types of social character are developing, producing men whose commitment is to the shifting pressures of the environment, to adaptability and to change itself. Yet the very nature of this "other-directed" character is that it cannot be pinned down or specified in terms of values and life goals. "Other-directedness" offers little to a youth who seeks some stable or constant core of adult identity. "Choose to be changed" may be feasible as a once-or-twice-in-a-lifetime imperative, but it is seldom viable as a way of life.

In short, many of our current models of adult character and identity are by their very nature vague and amorphous, emphasizing the ability to adapt, to accommodate oneself, and to change with

[6] "Conformity" can be seen as one mode of adaptation to the problem of choice. Just as the popularity of a song is the usual criterion for selecting it from among the 200 selections available for a dime, and just as an elaborate information service of Hit Parades keeps people informed as to what is currently popular, so consumer popularity and the vast attention paid in popular magazines to "How America Lives" provide people with criteria for choosing among different styles of life.

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shifting circumstances. Even in the occupational sphere, it is more difficult for a young man to bring himself to learn the techniques of the engineer when he believes that these may be outmoded in fifteen years. More general adult roles are even more fluid, with a kind of built-in principle of change. The perceptive youth may consciously or unconsciously sense in all of these roles the common disadvantages of specialization, abstraction and dissociated fantasy; at the same time he is unable to find in our social order roles or definitions of selfhood that promise to outlive the next technological, moral or social revolution. Thus, the choice of adulthood becomes even more difficult, and the probability of alienation increases.

The change in aspirations. Youth culture and alienation have been characterized as a silent rebellion against the prevailing order, what it asks, and what it seems to offer. Yet one of the lessons of the study of rebellions is that they come about not because of any absolute level of misery, but because of a gap, a *felt* discrepancy, between what is and what is believed to be important, desirable and possible. Revolutions usually occur in times of increasing prosperity and well-being, and thus cannot be explained on grounds of absolute poverty or deprivation. Rather it is the *conviction, the belief,* that the present order is inadequate which produces discontent.

If we distinguish between revolution, with an active and articulate program of change and reform, and rebellion, which is more random, unfocused on goals, amorphous and inarticulate, then ours is an age—in the industrial democracies of the West—of rebellion but not of revolution. The lack of program among the alienated makes true revolution unlikely. But this is, nonetheless, a time of silent rebellion, of nay-saying of a thousand kinds. And rebellions differ from revolutions not in their origins but in their articulateness. Even in explaining a phenomenon like youth culture, we must therefore consider the *gap between aspirations and actualities* as one of the chief sources of alienation.

Many of the outward facts of our culture are happy ones: as we are continually reminded by the defenders of our culture, we live

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in the greatest plenty the world has ever known. Our society has exceeded the material dreams of our forefathers; yet, the conditions they yearned for having been attained, their dreams have ceased to excite us. To foreigners—indeed to many American parents—dissatisfaction with today's security and prosperity seems gross petulance or rank ingratitude. And it is undoubtedly true that judged by the standards of fifty or a hundred years ago, our contemporary society gives grounds only for delectation and rejoicing. That such rejoicing is uncommon, and that alienation is so prevalent, therefore indicates different standards of judgment, a new and narrower definition of "what must be endured without protest"—and beneath this, an implicit change in what men feel they are entitled to ask of life.

It is easy to be misled here. Young people often seem to justify their elders' criticisms of their irresponsibility or ingratitude when they protest that there is "no longer anything to protest against." This complaint at first seems absurd and childish: nothing to protest against implies a perfect world and is clearly no grounds for protest. But in fact here are many things people do protest against —many of them the things we have earlier discussed. On closer examination, "nothing to protest against" seems rather to mean "no articulate principles upon which to ground one's intuitive dislikes and rejections," and is thus joined to another common complaint, "nothing left to believe in." The lack of any positive morality upon which to ground criticism of the existing world helps explain the absence of reform and revolutionary spirit today, and I will return to this point later. But for now, we need to remind ourselves that absence of articulate expression does not demonstrate the absence of feeling, passion and belief. That a man cannot fully articulate his aspirations does not mean that he may not still rebel against the discrepancy between what is and what he dimly, almost unconsciously, senses might be. Men may feel that they have a right to "something better than this," without being able to define the "something."

Given the proverbial silence of this generation about its objects of devotion, any attempt to investigate the "real aspirations" of

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those who react to their culture with apathy or alienation must necessarily remain speculations. But one clue to these aspirations can be found in what young people find it difficult to accept about the lives they are asked to lead. To dislike abstraction, specialization or the dissociation of fantasy presupposes that one cherishes direct experience, a more total employment of talents, and the integration of fantasy into everyday life. And in the prevalent rejection of conformity, routinization, "massification" and the submersion of the individual in the group, there often appear to be implicit aspirations toward individuation, autonomy, integrity, "authenticity" and uniqueness.[7] These values have long been imbedded in our culture, but were never before considered adequate grounds for rejecting it. Why should they now become more compelling and urgent?

One obvious reason is that the values one stresses are to some extent a reflection of the defects of the current situation. In sunny regions, shade is treasured; northern climates prize the sun. Insofar as modern society has characteristic weaknesses, we should expect their opposites to be emphasized as values. Our industrial society, however great its virtues, has brought attendant evils; and it is unrealistic to expect that each generation will merely continue to be grateful for the victories won by its predecessors. More understandable and more desirable is that it should turn to attack the problems that follow these triumphs. The aspirations of a generation should counter its own most painful realities, not those of its parents.

This change—in may ways an extremely basic change—in our social and cultural facts of life suffices to account for the apparent ingratitude of this generation. But it is not adequate to explain what seems not only a change in aspirations but a heightened, if still largely mute, sense of what can be demanded of life. To understand this we must consider the psychological effects of our vast extension of physical power in the past century. As Galbraith has pointed out, we live on the brink of an age of affluence whose full significance for our thinking remains to be comprehended. Many

[7] I will consider below some of the reasons why young people find it difficult to formulate coherent alternatives to what they reject.

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nations can foresee the total abolition of scarcity in the next generation; even that traditionally most fantastic of all unreal imaginings, a trip to the moon, seems possible within the next decade. When the conquest of poverty and space are almost within our grasp, we naturally—although perhaps unconsciously—tend to view all frontiers as within our reach, whether they be physical, economic, social or psychological. Given our immense physical powers, we are less willing to accept a social and personal milieu which leaves us unfulfilled.

The current situation is therefore paradoxical; and in this paradox lies a key to understanding the peculiar quality of modern alienation. For it is important to recall that very few modern men are actively possessed of the belief that they can control their own destinies or the shape of society with the same assurance that they can manage the forces of nature. Quite the opposite is true, in fact; rarely before have men experienced such mass resignation before the forces of society, such a sense of distance from the sources of power, such defeatism in the face of an explosive world situation.

The paradox is therefore this: the natural logic of our immense technological and material progress is, by generalization, to convince us that we should be able to determine our fates as human beings in our social and cultural settings just as we begin to control the physical world; yet consciously we lack any such conviction. The cultural correlate of material progress is therefore not, as we would expect, reform or revolution, but what we might call "unprogrammatic alienation"—rejection of society without any explicit program of objectives or techniques for improving it, and without even an articulate set of principles from which to criticize it. Our discontent necessarily remains at the level of a "feeling," a dumb unrest, a vague sense that something is wrong, an unwillingness to put up with a life that seems in some undefined way less than we might demand.

In other words, the extension of some of our powers reinforces our dissatisfaction with how little we seem able to ask for in our own lives. Even though our aspirations are seldom explicit in our complaints and inertias, our implicit definition of "psychological sub-

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sistence" has changed. In an enormously successful age such as this, young men are more likely to refuse to pay too high a price for membership in society. Since we already live in the material utopia dreamt of by the nineteenth century, why settle for anything less than the best in any other area?

Myths and Unconscious Utopias

This account of the roots of alienation has so far been incomplete in two ways. To be sure, in many areas of life, our culture demands a higher degree of abstraction, specialization and dissociation than any before it, while at the same time offering few stable incentives for abandoning the integrities of childhood. And it is doubtless true that our material power has lessened our willingness to accept nonmaterial deprivations. But these considerations alone will not suffice to explain our increasing disaffection. For one, they give inadequate weight to those real social and material advances which in themselves should make alienation less likely. Scientific and technological progress has removed many of the former targets of protest, reform, rebellion and revolution. In many Western countries—precisely those in which alienation now seems most widespread—the senseless sufferings of physical illness, the vast disparities of extreme affluence and extreme poverty, and the injustices of tyrannical rule seem on the way to being eliminated. Never before have there been so many alternatives open to man, such varied experiences available, so much real freedom to choose between beliefs, work, styles of life, and domiciles. These new social realities might well have outweighed the disadvantages of adulthood of which we have spoken; the fact is, however, that they have not; their net effect has, if anything, been opposite.

But all of these proffered explanations of alienation are also incomplete in a more fundamental sense. Like individual behavior, social phenomena can be viewed from two points of view: in terms of the *presence* of forces that co-operate to produce them, or in terms of the *absence* of factors that might prevent them. An individual neurosis can be "explained" in terms of the factors that predispose the individual to the illness and immediately occasion

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its symptoms; but it can also be understood by studying the forces deterrent to illness that are absent. The more we study "normal" individuals, the more we see that they often share common backgrounds with neurotics; the determining difference may lie in the "normal's" experience of a single admired teacher who filled him with an abiding love of knowledge and wisdom, in the influence of an understanding aunt who early gave him a kernel of self-esteem on which he could later build, in an early acquired and tenaciously held conception of what he might become—in short, in constructive, integrative forces that enabled him to overcome or profit from the same conflicts that have incapacitated the neurotic. I have so far considered only the present, active determinants of alienation; the missing countervailing forces remain to be discussed.

Men will happily tolerate great discomfort, discontinuity and frustration if—and only if—they are working for some purpose, toward some end, which they consider wise, true, exciting and meaningful. It is a tragic fact that during wars or revolutions that coalesce societies around a central purpose, the symptoms of internal social pathology decline: mental illness, despondency and suicide decrease. The ambivalent nostalgia with which Englishmen recall the glorious-tragic days of the Blitz, the significance of the Resistance to the average Frenchman fifteen years after the war—these attest to the importance of a common purpose and a common enemy. For the war was a time of intense frustration and daily suffering, when society asked much and offered little but a distant hope of victory, and when the gap between the contest in which men struggled and the peace to which they aspired was greatest. It is precisely the absence of any such positive vision which would make frustration worth while that most explains our contemporary alienation.

The transvaluation of utopia. The decline of cultural morale—of co-operation based on the acceptance of some common vision of the desired future—is perhaps most obvious in the decline and devaluation of utopias. There was a time when "utopian" was, for at least some men, a term of praise, and when utopias were defined

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as tangible and desired possibilities that men might write about and actually set out to realize. The Brook Farms and Nauvoos of America, the Proudhons, St. Simons, Owens and Fouriers of Europe—all expressed the conviction that there *were* certain values which should be implemented concretely through new forms of social organization, and that such implementation was well within the practical immediate possibilities of ordinary human beings.

Perhaps it is significant that Brook Farm, initially the most American of the utopian communities, perished in a holocaust and was never fully rebuilt. A parallel destiny pursued all of the other implementations of utopia in this country; and throughout the Western world, concrete images of the desired future have met with the same fate. Marx's classless society, the greatest of all nineteenth-century utopias, has as surely died as an object of aspiration to most Westerners. We can or dare no longer visualize a future better than the present about which we complain.

But if we define a utopia as any attempt to make the possibilities of the future imaginatively concrete, utopias have not in our day ceased to exist; they merely have been transvalued. The contrast between nineteenth- and twentieth-century utopias is drastic. Our visions of the future have shifted from images of hope to vistas of despair; utopias have become warnings, not beacons. Huxley's *Brave New World,* Orwell's *1984* and *Animal Farm,* Young's *The Rise of the Meritocracy* and, ironically, even Skinner's *Walden II* —the vast majority of our visions of the future are negative visions, extensions of the most pernicious trends of the present. They are deterrents, cautionary tales: utopia has become counter-utopia. The connotations of "utopian" have similarly changed: the term is now unequivocally associated with "unrealistic," "self-defeating" and, for some, with man's deepest and most prideful sins.

The reasons for this shift are complex, and to consider them fully would take us far afield. Most fundamentally, this shift is part and symptom of a more general "loss of faith" in the West, seen in the movement from "positive values" (ends which men should seek) to a "negative morality" (which elucidates the evils and terrors men should avoid), and in our widespread doubt as to whether there are *any* values which can be legitimately and

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passionately held. This transition has often been discussed: it begins with the breakdown of medieval certainty, progresses through centuries of increasing rational skepticism and "demythologizing" of religion, and culminates in the cynicism and sense of ideological defeat that have followed our two world wars. Nietzsche's "transvaluation of values" has taken place. But the old creeds have not been replaced, as he hoped, by values more adequate to what man might become, but by the value nihilism against which he explicitly warned. The hammer has been retained, but not the concept of a transcendent man above all men so far envisaged.

A more immediate cause of the transvaluation of utopia is our unhappy experience with attempts to make real the visions of the past century—above all the vision of Marx. Whatever the reasons for the failure of Marxism in Russia to achieve its high moral and spiritual aims, the repercussions of this failure have been disastrous. Not only has the world been divided into two hostile camps, each with the power to destroy the other at an instant's notice, but—if possible even more important—the failure of this utopia has further crushed interest in visualizing and hope of attaining a better world. Communism in Russia involved far more than a parochial national revolution that failed. It was an attempt, like that of the French Revolution, to create a world in which men would be free not only from the tyrannies of want and power, but from the oppressions of their social and economic order—an attempt to make concrete the spiritual promises of Christianity. Its failure has been a tragedy for the entire West, one which has materially undermined our declining faith in our capacity to improve our world.

But I doubt that the failure of Marxism is really adequate grounds for the far-reaching, if implicit, conclusions that many seem to have drawn from it. The collapse of one enterprise, however mammoth, does not necessarily show that all such enterprises are inevitably doomed. Perhaps the most general lesson that can validly be drawn from such collapses is that means and ends are inextricably related. It is difficult to attain peace through violence, or mass happiness through genocide: it is impossible to change radically an entire society at a single stroke. (Characteristically,

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many modern Communists deny this integral relationship between what is to be accomplished and how it is to be attained.)

We have, however, already overlearned even this lesson. Spengler speaks of "technicism"—an exclusive concentration on the techniques, instruments and means for attaining once-desired ends—as the mark of the declining civilization. Other writers have commented on the replacement of "substantive" reason, which can judge the validity of ends and goals, by "instrumental" reason, which can judge only the efficacy of techniques in attaining pre-ordained ends. This technicism is more and more pervasive: in every area methodology replaces substance; technical proficiency is valued over final excellence; the analysis of philosophical questions substitutes for their resolution; "know-how" supplants wisdom; "Whither?" has become archaic, but "How?" is on every man's lips. It is small wonder that men should feel powerless before a social order in whose day-to-day workings they are technically enmeshed but whose direction they feel unable to judge.

Even in ethics, apparently the field most concerned with the proper ends of conduct and life, technicism reigns virtually unchallenged. Academic ethics has concentrated more and more on what was once only a prelude to substantive ethics: the formal logical and linguistic analysis of ethical propositions and their characteristic justifications. Philosophers now seldom try to define the Good Life, but rather consider the several senses in which the term "good" can be used. Popular philosophy is of equally little help. Our most characteristic tracts on popular ethics have a certain "how-to-do-it" quality; how to think positively (about doing in your neighbor?); how to get along with people (what if they are not worth getting along with?); how to cope with guilts and anxieties (but suppose you *have* sinned?).

Even the nonacademic philosophers offer few noninstrumental suggestions. Perhaps the most appealing moral terms of our time are words like "spontaneity," "individuality," "authenticity," "identity" and "autonomy," terms usually most fully developed by psychoanalytic or existential writers. Yet one can "spontaneously" commit murder and "authentically"—God forbid—press a guided missile button. These terms give us criteria for judging *how* a thing

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is done, but only indirectly if at all for evaluating *what* is done. To recur to an old philosophical distinction, the manner in which an act is performed may be a necessary condition but is not a sufficient condition for its virtuousness. To suffice, a virtuous act or goal is also needed.[8]

The transvaluation of utopia is thus part of a wider transvaluation of values, a long-term decline of positive morality which has not only left men unable to visualize a better future, but has deprived them of articulate bases on which to judge the present. The rise of the counter-utopia is one aspect of this more general historical trend, which reaches its acme in the negative visions of the twentieth century.

The submersion of positive myth. Every age has its characteristic myths, its imagined or real events, laden with associations, symbols and marginal meanings, which express that time's deepest interpretation of the visible world and of the world of good and evil. These myths vary in time, among individuals, and among nations. So it is only as an abstraction that we can speak of the "myth of an age," or of the general characteristics of myth in any time and place. Nonetheless, even as abstraction, such discourse is useful, for the deepest vitalities of rational belief and discourse lie in its mythic substructure. The myth of an age must be sought in the concrete representations of that age: in the stories, the folk tales, the philosophical visions, the entertainments, the questions that are taken for granted and those that are in issue in the age's exhortations and cautions.

Every age, too, has its characteristic balance between *positive*, eductive, hortatory, constructive, imperative, visionary, utopian myths, and *negative*, deterrent, cautionary, warning, direful, destructive and counter-utopian myths. In some periods of Western history, images of violence, demonism, destructiveness, sorcery

[8] This is obviously not to say that fanaticism is better than instrumentalism. To forget what we have painfully learned of the nexus between means and ends would be to fall into a ferocious, unprogressive dialectic in which each generation over-reacts against the views of the previous age and recommits the sins of the last but one. But just as no end, however admirable, can be attained without studying the means most conducive to it, so no knowledge, however adequate, of instruments and techniques can lead to improvement without some conceptions of the values that these techniques must serve.

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and witchcraft have prevailed; in others, myths of blessedness, justice, co-operation, and universal concordance with divine order have dominated. Other times, perhaps the happiest, have been able to include visions of both light and darkness in one mythic embrace: only in such times do we find a clear public articulation of the existence of and the links between the divine and the demonic.

But despite the great differences between the dominantly positive myths of one age and the predominantly negative myths of another, a more subtle equilibrium also prevails. The sweet reasonableness of the Enlightenment is the backdrop for De Sade's most demonic of all envisioned republics. When the devil is denied, he manifests himself nonetheless—in some ways the more because his existence is no longer recognized and thus cannot be combatted. Similarly, the divine reasserts itself most powerfully in individuals when the collective myths ignore the Good: saints live in times of the devil. Without denying that there are real contrasts between different ages in their ratio of positive and negative myths, we should also be aware that both types of myth are always present, sometimes on the surface, sometimes submerged deep below the dominant consciousness of the time.

Few would disagree that our own time is one of predominantly negative, deterrent or even satanic myths. Our dissociated fantasy is fantasy of violence, cruelty and crime, presented ostensibly as a warning, but often acting as a stimulant. More fundamentally, the highest literary and intellectual attainments of contemporary culture present us not with images of integration, co-operation and reality, but with myths of decay, chaos, warfare and illusion. Analysis everywhere replaces synthesis; fission, fusion; asymmetry, symmetry; regression, growth. Even in immediate world politics, the myth of The Bomb and of Inevitable War has greater cogency than any belief in peace or concord.

This shift, which we have seen clearly only in the past fifty years, has been long in the making. Our specific disillusionments and tragic experiences of recent history only partly account for it; for the very willingness to be disillusioned and to consider history's lessons tragic is itself a part of the more general submersion of positive myth. Historically, the change in the type of myth seems to

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consist of two related processes, one the *intellectualization of positive myth*, the other the *debunking of ideology*. I obviously cannot hope to chronicle adequately the stages through which these processes have taken place, but can only suggest them in general terms.

Rationalism, as it emerged subsequent to the Renaissance, attempted to dissociate reason and faith, extirpating superstition and basing belief on the sounder tenets of "self-evident reason." The Cartesian critique of religion, although it finally arrived at religious truths almost identical with those from which it had started, nonetheless founded these truths on a primarily cognitive and intellectual basis. Faith was not really necessary; reason alone could arrive at truth in matters of value just as in matters of science. The primary effect of this new faith in reason was to separate the emotional and the cognitive sources of myth, abetting the rationalistic critique of the affective, imaginal components of the medieval myth and producing a new myth which, on the surface at least, was far more rooted in reason and less attached to fantasy and the nonrational. "Demythologizing" religion did not, however, result in the disappearance of myth (as we here use the term), but merely in a new kind of myth, which we might call an "ideology" to indicate its primarily intellectual content, and to distinguish it from other myths more directly rooted in passion, faith, imagination and poetic experience. This ideology, carrying a vision of a new society, was expressed above all by the French philosophers of the eighteenth century, and its utopian aspects culminated in the French Revolution. The excesses of this revolution might well have taught that the optimistic rationalism of the Enlightenment had ignored important aspects of human experience, for it had been unable to anticipate or even to comprehend the eagerness with which men rejected Reason and in its name chose first Terror and then Napoleon.

But in fact, of course, this lesson was not learned. Instead of a deepening of what had become a primarily ideological myth, this myth persisted in the same form and merely proved itself more vulnerable to attack. Purely cerebral values are usually the most vulnerable; those which are rooted in personal experience are more

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passionately held. Without a sanctioned basis in feeling, tradition or fantasy, the values of the Enlightenment were difficult to defend. Just as it was easy to show that the rationalists' natural laws had no basis in physical fact, but were rooted in faith (now disreputable), so it proved simple to demonstrate that intellect standing alone was impotent to arrive at valid conclusions about ultimate questions. Concepts like "progress," "reason" and "perfectibility" could readily be shown to be principles of interpretation, not facts: bereft of their nonintellectual foundations, they too have collapsed. Since history continually refuted the rationalists' claims, and since they had voluntarily deprived themselves of any appeals but those to the intellect, they could do little to defend their causes.

Openness to such debunking is a necessary characteristic of any system of beliefs that attempts to separate itself completely from the nonrational and the negative. With a fury that seems born of deprivation and frustration, modern thought has systematized the techniques of intellectual subversion. Whatever their positive content, psychoanalysis, existentialism, Marxism and even modern philosophical analysis start from a systematized debunking of existing belief. The techniques for this destruction vary, but they have certain features in common. All consist in demonstrating the impotence of intellect before more powerful nonintellectual forces which "truly" determine the beliefs men hold and profess to justify by reason. Whether these beliefs are held because of the denial of irrational impulses in man, refusal to face the true conditions of existence and death, economic interest, or simple "misunderstandings" about the use of language, the result is the same: conviction is undermined by associating beliefs with undesirable interests, fears or errors.

Through this intellectualization of positive myth and the debunking of the ensuing ideologies, little remains of our former faiths. What started as an attack on specific beliefs and types of illusion has become a general attack on all positive myths. Reason and the Good have been firmly associated since Plato, and the attack on the one has in effect resulted in subverting the other. Our positive myth has been shorn of its strength, separated more

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and more from the nonrational, the imagination, and from its roots in fantasy, desiccated from substantive to instrumental reason. The vitalities which it once possessed have passed to the negative myth. What fascinates, horrifies, enchants and seduces us now is not any positive vision, but the disparate images of chaos, destructiveness and cruelty.

To be sure, we rationalize our fascination with these images by appealing to their deterrent effects. Two hours of violence and cruelty is a morality play if the culprit is punished in the last scene of the last act. But Satan dominates the play and secretly triumphs, as he is wont to do in our day. And not without reason, for by accepting the affective desiccation of positive myth, we almost guarantee that emotion should be on the side of the negative, whatever intelligence may dictate. Evil always has its seductiveness; but when good has been deprived of adventure, poetry and excitement, the fascination of the demonic becomes almost overwhelming, even when we believe that we observe it merely to learn its negative lessons.

The unconsciousness of contemporary utopias. The dominance of deterrent and destructive myths should not lead us to conclude that utopias and eductive myths have simply vanished without vestige. I have argued that the positive and negative components of myth are related much as the constructive and destructive sides of an individual's fantasy life: if one dominates it usually indicates that the other has been driven underground, where it continues to exist until it can be reintegrated into consciousness and given coherent form. There is much indirect evidence that such is the case with eductive myths at the present time. As Camus points out, every act of rebellion presupposes an implicit affirmation of that in the name of which one rebels; so too inasmuch as alienation constitutes a refusal to participate, it indicates that some interest stands above participation. It need hardly be said that disaffection has its purely destructive components and, by itself, can be sheer nihilism. But it may also contain, especially when articulate, the seeds of potential commitment. Indeed, the very fact of widespread

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alienation from a society dominated by vestigial ideologies or destructive and deterrent myths itself suggests that more positive values, however inarticulate or unconscious, still exist.

At first it may seem paradoxical to speak of an unconscious myth. For we usually associate myths with their spoken, written, pictorial or filmed expressions. And yet none of these is the myth itself, which may be expressed variously and thus cannot be identified with any one of its concrete articulations. A myth resides above all in the deepest places in men's minds, and may utterly lack expression without therefore ceasing to exist. To speak of an unconscious or implicit myth, as of an unconscious fantasy, merely requires an inference, based on evidence which cannot be readily explained without such an inference. Much of the evidence for the unconsciousness—as opposed to the nonexistence—of positive myths in our time has already been discussed in considering alienation and youth culture. The rather surprising contrast between our sense of physical power and the clarity of our material aims on the one hand and our sense of spiritual impotence and purposelessness on the other should lead us to the inference that for some reason men are *prevented* from expressing their aspirations, which exist nonetheless, although not in communicable form. Second, I have mentioned the unprogrammatic—sometimes nihilistic—nature of modern alienation, which only occasionally reaches the form of articulate protest, and almost never leads to an impulse toward reform. Yet if to refuse to take part in something presupposes some superordinate value on which the rejection is at least implicitly based, we again have indirect evidence that men feel some attachment to values which, although unexpressed, they nonetheless serve.

But perhaps the most cogent evidence of implicit positive myths is to be had simply by conversing with people about what they desire from life. There is normally a signal incongruity between the superficiality, the banality and remoteness of their expressed aims and purpose, and the depth and "feltness" of their implicit goals, which we must usually infer from what they *dis*like and seek to avoid. Young men and women today feel great uneasiness and discomfort at expressing any ambition or conception of life that

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has not been long since sapped of any real vitality for them or their fellows. Were such unease, embarrassment and incongruity between overt and covert values evident in a discussion of sex or hostility, we would know what conclusion to draw: beneath the expressed views lie less conscious, contrasting and perhaps opposite values and attitudes.

Another obstacle to accepting the conclusion that men have unconscious constructive fantasies and unconscious eductive myths is our current notion of "the contents of the unconscious." We are accustomed to think of unconscious processes in terms of "Freudian" repression, which consists primarily in rejecting unacceptable aggressive and sexual fantasies. According to this principle, only the destructive or libidinal fantasies on which a myth might be based could be repressed, and it would be virtually impossible not to be aware of "good" fantasies.

But there is increasing reason to believe that Freud's definition of the contents of the unconscious is a historical one, relevant primarily to the Victorian world in which he lived. Psychoanalysts comment on the increasing rarity of the hysterical and compulsive symptoms upon which Freud based his views of repression: the newer type of patient arrives at the analyst's office more fully aware of his aggression and sexuality, but seeking to find some purpose for his life. Perhaps a more general statement of the determinants of repression is this: whatever would, if it were conscious, cause the individual trouble (discomfort, pain, guilt, ridicule, shame, et cetera) tends to remain unconscious. This formulation would suggest that "good" impulses, drives, fantasies and aspirations might be those most unconscious in the patient without a purpose in life. We might even speculate that in the mid-twentieth century, the "contents of the unconscious" have changed to counterbalance our inverted myths: what is most unconscious today is the constructive, prospective and affirmative part of man.

A number of psychoanalysts have developed terms that permit us to speak of unconscious "good" fantasies. Erikson's "positive identities," Horney's "real self," Sullivan's "personifications of the good me," Fromm's "creative potentialities"—all of these aspects of the self admit of repression, and the analyst sees one of his tasks

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as making the patient aware of them. But although such components of personality are increasingly discussed, we know little about the reasons why therapeutic assistance is so often required to make them conscious. And more important to the understanding of alienation, we do not understand why, despite the widely expressed desire for a more positive and cogent myth, and despite the signs that the seeds of such a myth are present in many of us, such a myth does not find more ready cultural expression. What prevents us from articulating our now-dumb aspirations?

I have already mentioned our contemporary disillusionment with utopias, a disenchantment born partly of the spiritual failure of so many attempts to translate utopia into practice. Western civilization has come to bear a deep and ultimately destructive conviction that not only utopias, but every systematic attempt to translate ideals into practice, especially in the social and political spheres, is similarly doomed to defeat, or worse, to that reinstallation of the evils of the old regime which has attended most major revolutions. Given a widespread conviction that deliberate attempts at reform lead to excesses worse than those they seek to correct, the easiest solution for the individual or the culture is never to voice the principles by which reform might be guided. Disillusion of overly high hopes has produced cynicism—not the cynicism of the native opportunist, but the more corrosive cynicism of the man or the culture which has seen its hopes dashed.

Beneath this cynicism, which usually expresses itself in lack of interest in idealism or in boredom at high aspirations, lie more concrete fears. If one articulates a set of principles, constructs a utopia or other eductive myth—whether for himself or for his culture or for both—he automatically becomes in some way *responsible* to this vision. Most men consider the cynicism of not acting to promote one's avowed purposes a worse offense than the cynicism of not having any purposes at all. But to act to promote or make real a positive vision of the future is—in our current world view—to condemn oneself to certain frustration and probable failure. The thought that it may make matters worse is even more paralyzing for men of good faith. Thus, a welter of good intentions, desire not to do harm, doubt as to whether there are *any* means to

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promote worthy ends, and fear of frustration or failure conspire to make it far easier not to articulate any positive morality in the first place.

But even if a man overcomes these obstacles himself, he must next overcome the neglect, skepticism or even active hostility of most of his fellows. I earlier argued that our dominant ideologies were most systematically developed as instruments of deflation and debunking, and that our most powerful myths were deterrent myths which point out the probable evils that would follow certain (indeed most) courses of action. Any attempt, however tentative, to enuniciate some principle of positive action or enthusiasm must thus face attacks on two fronts. First, the motives of the proponent will be thoroughly and hostilely investigated, with the intent of showing that the proposals conceal "irrational," "ulterior," or other undesirable motives, interests or errors. And second, the proposals themselves will be attacked as merely leading to further evils, usually by extending some already undesirable trend. To take only one example, the World Federalist must answer charges that he himself is uprooted and without sound national ties, and furthermore that his proposed One World would merely lead to further extremes of homogenization, uniformity, legalism, bureaucratization or whatever the dominant present evils are seen to be.

Many an advocate of a worthy cause, however, would be grateful for criticism, which at least acknowledges the existence of his proposals. His more common fate is neglect. As we have argued before, indifference is as great a rejection as attack: as Dostoevsky knew, the ultimate reduction of a man is to stare through him without seeing him. Whether neglect or criticism is or is not valid is not at issue here: the point is that the complete predictability of such reactions makes even the most affirmative hesitate before affirming in public.

Little subtlety is needed to unearth the reasons for these responses. In some cases, they may be justified. Some purportedly good causes are what all are usually said to be: "crackpot," "harebrained," "naïve" and "unrealistic." But the response to any proposal for reform is so invariant that this explanation will not suffice. He who proposes innovation must always face opposition grounded

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in the universal inertial unwillingness to move from the familiar to the unknown. Even more important, as a man of virtue is a reproach to those without virtue, so a man of vision shames those who lack vision, implicitly finds them wanting, and calls for them to change. When change involves making explicit what for good reasons is kept unstated, indifference and (if this fails) angry rejection can surely be foreseen.

But probably the most potent deterrent to the enunciation or even the search for any more positive myth is the genuine humility of those who are most conscious of our cultural problems. If a fear must be found here to parallel the fear of responsibility and failure or the fear of criticism and neglect, it is the simple fear of being wrong. To those who lack agreed principles for the interpretation of reality, the twentieth century seems increasingly complex. Experts, each with his own special canons of selection and judgment, dominate their fields. There is so much to be known. And even if we knew it, who would really dare to judge and, more, to propose alternatives? Our real problem is not so much that we lack requisite knowledge, but that the values from which we might build have ceased to exist in the public mind. The advocate, reformer or mythmaker faces an almost superhuman task: he must first of all unearth the very values which he will then attempt to develop, illustrate, enhance and implement. Faced with this task, humility is the only possible response; and the most probable—although by no means the only possible—behavior is withdrawal into some private domain where the job to be done has more defined and attainable ends.

Finally, a somewhat different type of obstacle to positive myth exists: the relative *absence of concepts* appropriate to, adequate for, or expressive of either the felt evils of the contemporary world or the vague aspirations for a better world. If it is true, as I have argued, that the imminence of an age of affluence means a complete reappraisal of what is wrong and what should be right in the world, this revaluation has yet to be made. Preoccupied by their specialist endeavors, immersed in the improvement of techniques for this-and-that, or, at best, nostalgically reliving the wisdom of a happier past, men have yet to give adequate diagnoses of our present situa-

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tion. The concepts by which we interpret our contemporary world are by and large those of the past century—a century not only more confident but also considerably more impoverished than our own.

The changes that have taken place are not merely changes in quantity or degree, a little more here and a little less there. They amount to *absolute* alterations of our social, cultural and, in many ways, our human condition. We do not only have more of the goods of life; for the first time many of us *have enough,* and barring world disaster, we can be relatively confident that we will continue not to want. We not only have less confidence in our powers to evaluate and change society; many of us have *none,* and see little possibility of regaining our hope. We not only face the possibility of a somewhat more destructive war than the last, but the real chance that another war would mean *total* annihilation of life on our earth. These transformations are absolute; their understanding requires new concepts, new ways of thinking; their judgment requires new values, new positive myths; and the solution of the problems they bring requires new utopias, defined this time with a surer understanding of the means by which they may be least partially attained.

Language is a prerequisite of cure. One way of looking at individual psychotherapy is to view it as a means of acquiring an adequate language (in the broadest sense of the word) for hitherto unexpressed feelings and impulses. If this is inadequate as a total explanation of the process of cure, the development of a language partially adequate to symbolize the roots of illness and the stages and goals of cure is at least a prerequisite to any successful therapy. Regardless of whether such a language really exists for the cure of the individual,[9] we clearly lack concepts adequate to the diagnosis of a world in which poverty is for many an ancestral recollection and in which limited war is merely a statement of hope. To our older vocabulary we owe a paradoxical debt: it enabled us to approach the solution of our former problems, and thus led to our

[9] Even here I doubt that most of our current definitions of "adjustment," "mental health" or even "maturity" are fully adequate. The search for universal standards in this area has led to definitions of health as the absence of psychic or social tension or conflict—to many an unappetizing and dull prospect. That each individual might have his own unique form of the fullness of life, and that for many the continual overcoming of tensions and conflicts might be the key to zest and vigor—these thoughts have received too little attention.

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present condition. But in our present condition, this vocabulary merely blinds us to our realities.

Doubtless many other factors help produce our current repression of any positive myth, utopia, morality or value. But the fears and humilities and inadequacies of intelligence mentioned may partly explain why we now find it so difficult to give adequate articulation to the foundations of our dissatisfactions. Lacking such expressions of what we aspire to, our discontents can only be alienations, seldom even protests. For those whose creativity will not be stifled, private concerns remain. There is a direct relation between the decline of political ardor and the rise of the arts. The ratio of paeans on the private poetic act to praise of the future estates of mankind approaches infinity. Without an affirmative vision of what is actively desired as an alternative to alienation, creative change is difficult for the individual and impossible for the society.

The reconstruction of commitment. If these reflections on the roots of alienation in our society are valid, any comments on how alienation might be translated into reform or apathy into commitment are bound to be inadequate. They would be inadequate not only because in this day any attempt to express affirmation is bound to seem inadequate, but because the problem of alienation is coextensive with the martial and moral crisis of our civilization, and as such can be resolved only by generations of men dedicated to the reconstruction of commitment. Therefore my comments will of necessity be directed toward what might be done to create circumstances more favorable to the alleviation of alienation, and not to the unformulated myths which could provide new objects of individual and social commitment.

In considering the factors conducive to alienation and its most characteristic American form, youth culture, I contrasted views of childhood and adulthood. To change the facts that underlie these felt and resented discontinuities and our ensuing unwillingness to accept the disadvantages of "maturity," far-reaching modifications of our present conceptions of work, human relations and leisure will be needed. As production per se ceases to be a valid

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social goal, we can now afford to recall the original aims of production, and to ask whether these humanitarian goals, if still viable, are being served by a system in which sheer "output" has become an end in itself. It is not enough to provide in leisure a dissociated escape from the monotony, abstraction and specialization required of work—especially if the use of leisure time, in the absence of any other criterion, is subject to rigid canons of conformity.

Given the increasing ingenuity, appeal to vanity, avarice, lust and even patriotism required to cajole, entice, browbeat or seduce consumers into accepting products they do not want, we must ask whether our natural and psychological resources might not be better spent in altering work itself, so as to make it more inherently rewarding to the worker, in addition to (or, if necessary, rather than) making it more efficient. It might even be, for example, that men could perform more than one specialized operation in their jobs, that they might be given work that taxes imagination instead of patience, that they might reacquire some understanding of and contact with the final use of their work and some pride in the quality of what they do. Then perhaps some men might even rejoice that they had work they could "take home with them" instead of plunging directly into the oblivion of the television set, recreation room or home workshop. And perhaps our proverbial American ingenuity could devise ways of accomplishing these humane aims, utopian as they may seem, without totally wrecking our sometimes over-productive industrial productivity.

In other areas, too, we have only begun to conceive of alternatives to our present definitions of the lives men and women must lead. The tremendous ambitions and talents of our vast entertainment industry have never been known to study the aesthetic, psychological or moral effects of their output with the same eagerness as they now scan indices of the number of listeners, readers or viewers per product. But they might; and if they did, a revolution in the use and effects of leisure would ensue. Or again, we have never been able to, or not really wanted to, teach our children that knowledge, learning and wisdom were rewarding, demanding and inherently valuable pursuits. Were we interested in allocating a greater portion of our wealth toward creating different conditions

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for learning, our children might be better prepared to understand and live amidst the necessary ambiguities of adulthood, and to choose with less anxiety from among the variety of careers, spouses, convictions and styles of life that compete for their enthusiasm. Or to take a final example, we now have too much time and too little idea of how to play in a way that invigorates and refreshes. We have hardly begun to imagine the possibilities that may exist for a more enhancing interaction between our love, our work and our play.

If all of these questions could be answered by proposals deemed desirable and feasible, and if the proposals were successfully implemented, commitment to our society might be more enticing. To be sure, the chances are small that even such general suggestions as these could result in either completely desirable or completely feasible reforms. Indeed, this is not the point—it is that we think too seldom of how we might change ourselves and our society, and we reflect too attentively on the minor interstices of existing fabrics. Our slowly increasing understanding of man and society, inadequate though it remains, is seldom applied to problems such as these: we experiment with what we know or are indifferent to, and not with what might concern us more centrally as human beings.

Yet specific proposals such as these merely touch the surface of the problem and are therefore bound to be inadequate. Concrete reforms, however desirable, will remain extemporizations in the absence of an explicit positive myth, ideology, faith or utopia. Indeed, no lasting or potent reform is ever possible except as men can be roused from their disaffection and indifference by the prospect of a world more inviting than that in which they now apathetically reside. Our deepest need is not to propose specific reforms, but rather to create an intellectual and cultural atmosphere in which it is possible for men to attempt affirmation without undue fear that valid constructions will collapse through neglect, ridicule or their own inherent errors. Such an ethos can only be built slowly and piecemeal, yet it is already clear what some of its preconditions must be.

For one, we need a more generous tolerance for synthetic and constructive formulations. Instead of concentrating on the possible bad motives from which they arise (the genetic fallacy) or on the

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possible bad consequences which might ensue from their misinterpretation (the progenitive fallacy), we must learn to assess them in terms of their present relevance, depth and appropriateness. To accomplish this is a double work. Destructively, we must subvert the methodologies of reduction that now dominate intellectual life. Constructively, we must replace these with more just measures of relevance, subtlety and wisdom, learning to cherish the enriching complexity of motives and interests that will necessarily underlie and support any future myths.

Second, we must reappraise our current concepts and interpretations of man and society. It is characteristic of the intellectual placidity of this period, obviously different in so many ways from former times, that we continue to operate with language more apposite to past generations than to our own. We require a radical reanalysis of the present, one which, starting from uncritical openness to the experience, dissatisfactions and joys of men today, can gradually develop frames of reference that can more totally comprehend us. The sharp analysis, fine discrimination and imaginative interpretation needed are available; but we have yet to focus them on the problem.

But above and beyond a generous atmosphere and an adequate comprehension of our time, ordinary human courage is needed. To criticize negativism openly requires a strong heart when negativism is ubiquitous; only a man of mettle will propose a novel interpretation of facts now arranged in entrenched categories. And no matter how eagerly the audience awaits or how well-prepared the set, only courage can take the performer to the stage. There are many kinds of courage; needed here is the courage to risk being wrong, to risk doing unintentional harm and, above all, the courage to overcome one's own humility and sense of finite inadequacy. This is not merely diffuse "courage to be" without protest in a world of inherent uncertainty and anxiety, but the resolve to be *for* something despite the perishability and transience of all human endeavors.

Despite the difficulties that stand before even partial realization of these preliminary goals, there is reason not to despair. Here is a purpose worthy of the highest talent, a dedication for those who

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claim such causes no longer exist. And if this reasoning is correct, such dedication, if it bears fruit, will not be without its appreciators—those who now sense their lack of aim or aspiration. Nor need we begin from an utter void to create a universe *ex nihilo*. Instead we need the human wisdom to shape new understandings of who and what we are, and the courage and foresight to voice our own and our fellows' dimly sensed aspirations. Ironically, we can hope for such new commitments in the future only if men now resolve their alienations by committing themselves—through the analysis, synthesis and reform of their own lives and worlds—to the preparation for new utopias. Perhaps then we will move nearer that world of creative individual fulfillment within self-renewing cultural vitality for which men have always longed.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To attempt to annotate or document an essay of this sort would be foolish if not impossible. Anyone familiar with the writings of Henry A. Murray will recognize my great indebtedness to him for many of the ideas contained here. To David Riesman I am grateful both for his inspiration and for the opportunity to work with his teaching staff, an experience that offered the immediate inducement to set these thoughts to paper. These two men, David Bakan, David Ricks, Roger Hagan and Ellen Uviller have commented on an earlier draft of this paper. Although less personal, my other debts are nonetheless real: Erik Erikson's perceptive comments on identity; Erich Fromm's analyses of social character and in particular of the cultural backgrounds of alienation; Margaret Mead's works on the passage from childhood into adulthood; Albert Camus' brilliant studies of rebellion; Denis de Rougemont's comments on diabolism in the twentieth century, and books like J. K. Galbraith's *The Affluent Society* or Daniel Bell's *Work and Its Discontents*—all have obvious relevance to the topics discussed here. But perhaps most important are the many undergraduates at Harvard College, alienated and committed, "beat" and "square," who have consistently impressed me with the importance of their concerns and the dignity of their aspirations.

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TV in the World of Letters

ANON

[Well-known in circles here and abroad, Anon is the author of many books and articles, of which this may well be the latest. Certainly, it is safe to say that he is the most anthologized writer in the history of literature.]

January 5, 1960

Dear Mr. Aighed:

As you may know, the FOB network has steadily endeavored to increase its public service function by offering in non-sponsored time programs of lasting intellectual value. On one of these programs, "Sit and Think," it has been customary to have notable authors read an article of theirs on some issue currently under discussion.

We have just come across your provocative essay in *Foreign Affairs* entitled "Disciplines for Diplomats," and we should like to feature it as soon as practicable on "Sit and Think." Since the program occupies a 15-minute spot, from 7:15 to 7:30 on Sunday morning, the reading time available is 13½ minutes, and this in turn means that your article will have to be somewhat shortened. You may want to do this yourself, or we will gladly have one of our experienced editors here in the office suggest the necessary cuts for your approval. The tape can be made at your home or in our studio, at your convenience.

Hoping for the pleasure of hearing from you soon and favorably,

Sincerely yours,

Douglas Doister
Director of Public Service Programs

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January 11, 1960

Dear Mr. Doister:

I am touched by your kind interest in my recent article on the training of diplomats and I wish I could accept your invitation to read it over the air.

But I must point out that it runs to 4,500 words, which would take about 35 minutes to read. When therefore you speak of "cutting" it to fit into 13½ minutes, you really mean discarding nearly two-thirds of the substance. Having just reread the piece, I cannot persuade myself that it is too long for what I have to say, though I could with some effort omit, say, 500-600 words and thus shorten the reading time by four or five minutes.

Any reduction such as you require would call for a complete rewriting from scratch.

Yours faithfully,

Arnold Aighed

January 15, 1960

Dear Mr. Aighed:

I would not presume to argue with you over the contents of your essay. You no doubt know best how long it should be. But I am sorry that you adopt an uncooperative line about editing which is all too common among writers, and which shows that you do not appreciate the exigencies of the new and powerful medium which is TV.

Surely you want your ideas to reach millions of people rather than the few thousands who read the specialized magazine for which you wrote your article. If I add that we will make an exception in your case and print for free distribution your article

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in full, will you not reconsider and allow us to extract the 13½ essential minutes?

Hoping for the pleasure of your prompt and favorable reply,

Yours sincerely,

Douglas Doister
Director of Public Service Programs

January 27, 1960

Dear Mr. Doister:

I am sorry to persist in my refusal and even more sorry that I did not succeed in conveying to you the grounds of it.

In declining to be excerpted as you wish, I am not "adopting a line." The reason for my response, which I am not surprised to hear is common in writers, is simply that I understand the exigencies of an old and powerful medium known as expository prose. These exigencies you apparently fail to appreciate. Instead you think it a public service to present an incomplete or disjointed argument, expecting the listener (I suppose) to sit and think it out.

You say that I surely want to reach millions of people. That depends on whether the emphasis is put on "reach" much more than on "millions." I will not, by the way, try to guess how many millions are likely to be awake at 7:15 on Sunday morning. Let me only remark that to all appearances your good deed is being done by stealth, as enjoined by the Scriptures.

Please understand that I am not telling you indirectly what you should do: I am only trying to show you the gap between your large professions and your meager performance.

Yours sincerely,

Arnold Aighed

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February 10, 1960

Dear Mr. Aighed:

When George Baker introduced us the other day he said something about your high sales resistance to TV and told me not to bring up the subject, least of all socially. Well, you remember, I didn't. But right now I'm sure I've got a proposition that will make you feel quite different about the whole subject.

You've probably never heard of "Talkfest." It's new. But I'm sure that when I explain it you'll fall for it. At long last it's the program we've all been waiting for, where people who can talk and people who like to hear *and see* good talk can get together by means of the new and powerful medium which is TV.

"Talkfest" gives you all the freedom of a real conversation. It starts at 2 p.m. on Saturday and goes on, free and uninhibited, till Sunday midnight. The people on the show any weekend wander in freely any time they want, and wander out again when they like—just as the listeners do, or for that matter the denizens of an old-world *salon*.

Same with the subject—anything goes. I'm on the show merely to put in the plugs for my sponsors every half hour and to ask a question or two when things look like they're beginning to flag. I do not m.c. or moderate. My job comes ahead of time, in making the right mixture, I mean inviting the people who'll catalyze each other—and then you're off!

Now think it over and give me a ring to say which weekend you'll go on. George told me how busy you are with your new book, on foreign policy, is it? Well, I promise you "Talkfest" is an experience that won't set you back. It will give you a lift. And when the time comes it'll do your book a lot of good. So spare us even just a Sunday. We'd want you to come about noon sharp so as to be able to wander in about 1:30, after a little briefing by my assistant, Miss Chorio. That way there's no strain.

I'm asking you first so I can line up the others. The balance I have in mind for you would be perfect: as a heavy, thoughtful type and not likely to go off the handle, you need someone vivacious,

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unpredictable—a woman, preferably an actress-type or even an actress. We might ask Diana Cecily. And then, just for kicks and to keep the audience guessing, someone with a bit of mystery and a man-about-town flavor. There is a Prince Detropoff you probably know, who claims he is a grandnephew of the Tsar. He has great personality.

You see the pains I'm taking over you and your prejudice against TV. Say you'll come; all you have to do is tell me when.

As ever yours,

Ralph Roister

P.S. Of course, it's none of my business, but let me just add that it would be great if when I get you three together you could spend a good bit of your time discussing the future of the arts in America.

February 19, 1960

Dear Mr. Aighed:

Excuse my delay in answering your letter of last month about what you called the exigencies of writers, which you think I do not appreciate.

I am sure I appreciate them as fully as you do. I was a writer once myself, and an editor after that, and my experience suggests that every writer who is worth his salt takes a very humble view of his work and knows he can be improved by competent editing.

In fact—and I say it to you without offense—I think that adapting to the format of a TV show, long or short, is for any writer a wonderful discipline. I know it is not usual in your line of work, where there is plenty of time to read and plenty of paper and print to expend on scholarly subjects. But we live in a dynamic world, and in TV especially, where broadcast time is expensive, it's bound to be short. That is why it must be used with the utmost efficiency, no matter what older habits may permit elsewhere.

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Accordingly, I am sorry we cannot see eye to eye about your article which we liked so much in this office, but I send you good wishes all the same. Should you ever change your mind about "Sit and Think," please let me know.

Yours sincerely,

Douglas Doister
Director of Public Service Programs

February 29, 1960

Dear Mr. Roister:

You are kind to invite me to appear on "Talkfest" in such distinguished company.

It is true that I like conversation and would do almost anything to obtain it, but I am afraid that the absence of limits which is the main feature of "Talkfest" would unnerve me to the point where I might wander out freely whenever my fellow-participants began to open their mouths, returning only when I had something to say. Even if this should prove acceptable to you as an attractive novelty, I could not undertake to keep it up faithfully from about noon sharp to midnight more or less.

The truth is that in any public performance in which I am to take part I want a moderator, with a gavel and a watch, to open and close the proceedings. Besides, I am occasionally vivacious too, and I may need to be called to order. It is only when required to talk about the future of the arts in America that my spirits droop, and then I need a moderator to cut me off *before* the audience notices it. For these few public services I would willingly give up all the half-hour interruptions of sponsor-worship.

My best to George when you see him.

Yours faithfully,

Arnold Aighed

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February 29, 1960

Dear Mr. Doister:

One final word in reply to your last, in which you chose to turn our difference of opinion into an argument against writers and scholars as represented by my unworthy self.

In so doing you abandoned your case, for I remind you that it was you who sought me out, not I who submitted my work to you. I have never objected to editing; I did and do object to abridgement by two-thirds. You are the one who claimed to perform a public service; I merely pointed out, when challenged, that garbling ideas is not a service. You put the word "Think" into a program so scheduled that it might better be called "Came the Dawn." I contented myself with showing that you do not understand the proper conditions either of thought or of its reception by the general public.

There is one further point I have not yet touched on. If Gibbon had just published the first volume of *The Decline and Fall*, you would doubtless ask him to whittle it down to the essential 13½ minutes. To which he would reply: "I can indeed furnish a text on my subject which will occupy these few moments, but that entails a fresh piece of work for which I must be paid."

This would not be naïveté on Gibbon's part, for how could he know that the public service which sheds luster on the great networks must rest on a broad base of unpaid talent? It would be necessary to explain to him that broadcasting time is expensive enough as it is without adding a charge that might well stop the world from being dynamic. Fortunately for public service, writers are so besotted that the millions they sometimes dream of are readers, not dollars. Hence the custom which makes it low and shameful to cadge a consultation from a doctor or lawyer, but normal and proper to ask a writer or lecturer to do something for the sole delight of being asked.

These are but a few points to sit and think about.

Yours faithfully,

Arnold Aighed

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April 1, 1960

Dear Mr. Aighed:

We have been looking at the copy of your new book, which has just come from your publishers. We think it is a wonderful book, the kind our listeners I am sure would enjoy hearing thoroughly discussed.

That's why I am asking you to give us the pleasure of attending the session of "Take the Rap," which will be devoted to your work, one week from next Thursday at 11 p.m. in our studios. I hope to greet you there myself.

As you know the "critics" on this program, now in its sixth year, are not all professionals. The layman, who is so important in a democracy, is represented also, usually by one businessman, one housewife and one teen-ager. This will be particularly appropriate for your book, since foreign policy is something which closely concerns all these occupations and age groups.

Our regular critic and moderator, John DeTester, will unfortunately be on a lecture tour, but we have a promise from Mr. Kurt Erfloh, the dance critic of *Terpsichore*, that he will be delighted to stand in for John.

We look forward to your call accepting the date, as well as to meeting you and having you autograph our office copy of your marvelous book.

Cordially,

(Mrs.) Susan Roister-Doister

April 5, 1960

Dear Mrs. Roi . . .

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Two Kinds of Wisdom

CONSTANCE CARRIER

The winter-word that counseled woe
grows faint when softer seasons come.
Endure—was that its mandate? Snow,
its evanescent idiom,
echoed a truth it did not know.

And spring's own phrase, translated now
into an idiom no less brief
and no less white upon the bough
before it sobers into leaf,
has little, it seems, to say to grief . . .

has only one insistent phrase:
Rejoice and praise! *Rejoice and praise*!

Yet, as we come at last to know,
winter informs our Eden-days;
the flower is rooted in the snow.

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Watercolor

GEORGE F. DELL

A raw sienna street, with thrusts of chalk
Where the old rat-trap slattern houses sprawl;
A charcoal sky, dirty with storm; a walk
Along the fish stalls, scabrous green; a wall
Behind with moldy billboards, oyster-white,
Freckled with unused bits of old temptation,
Nile, lake, cerulean; and off to right
A Naples yellow staircase to damnation.
And selling cod as nacreous as pearl,
Virginal innocent, with rose-flushed cheek,
Queen of the market, Angeloni's girl,
Oblivious of crowds and ogling Greek,
Who licks his lips, and, butcher knife in hand,
Rips a green melon propped against her stand.

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Juvenile Delinquents

The Latter-Day Knights

JOSEPH MARGOLIS

NO ONE CAN HOPE to discover the cause of juvenile delinquency, just as no one can hope to discover the cause of crime. These are labels applied to large clusters of acts that may have in common nothing more than the breaching of the law by minors or merely the breaching of the law. If we fasten on such fractional uniformities, we are inevitably led to expect simple and adequate causal correlations. We speak, accurately enough, of an upsurge in juvenile delinquency, which, because it is an isolable trend, we expect to be assigned an equally isolable source. But if we asked instead for the cause of crime, we should at once realize that "crime" is an umbrella term held over the heads of some extraordinarily different kinds of things. And even if we invented a term to cover criminal activity committed between the ages of thirty and thirty-nine (say, "trigintennial criminality"), we would still find it odd to inquire into its causes.

This does not mean that it is pointless to search out as many correlations as the traffic will bear between juvenile delinquency and the kinds of lives delinquents actually lead. The trends are clear enough and ugly, and they excite our honest hopes for corrective action. Nothing is lost, for instance, in noticing that delinquency is very highly correlated with the various patterns of the "broken home." But one senses that delinquency is too amorphous a phenomenon to respond to the specific of patching homes. And the causally relevant sequences may even come to minimize

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the juvenile condition of the delinquents and the delinquent condition of the juveniles. Our concern is, properly, with the fact that it is juveniles, in mounting numbers, who are responsible for our crime records. But this, after all, is an outcome completely detached from any insight into the kinds of careers offending juveniles have come to prefer.

I think we are nowadays shocked by delinquency. We are startled and horrified by certain of the most dramatic aspects of much juvenile delinquency. But, above all, we are puzzled by it, failing to find its core of sense and purpose. We notice apparently unmotivated crimes, attacks on total strangers, inordinate punishment for seemingly trivial and imagined slights, bloodthirstiness and excessive violence, the exhilarated state of delinquents during their exploits, their disdain of, and relative independence from, the legal and ethical codes of society. Much of the special bravado that we associate with this kind of delinquency, I admit, collapses when the law uses its teeth; but this is not significant, since the delinquent simply behaves as a hostile captive isolated from the little world in which he finds his former conduct appropriate.

I shall not attempt to isolate the causes of juvenile delinquency. I wish only to make the well-known facts about a certain kind of delinquency fall into place in a coherent pattern whose causal analysis would prove more fruitful than the steady, piecemeal accumulation of statistical data. What we require at the present time is a promising model for interpreting the various patterns of delinquent behavior. Perhaps the model I propose is inadequate; it is, however, at least an attempt at correcting our conception of what the delinquents in question think they are doing in carrying on the way they do. Apparently, we don't understand them, for it is perfectly clear that we regard their behavior as senseless, pointless, unprovoked, inexplicable. But we must be mistaken, from their point of view, since there is among them as much seriousness, devotion to imagined duties, sense of honor and trust and co-operation (however perverse), even heroism and self-sacrifice, industry, incentive and reward, foresight and planning as can be found in any legitimate group endeavor.

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There is among them, moreover, an impressive enthusiasm, *esprit*, solidarity and even pride that would be genuinely hard to duplicate.

Let me exaggerate somewhat the description of two important features that regularly appear in these delinquency patterns. The first is that "there is a war on." The second is that "there must be witnesses." Although I say these are exaggerations, they would not be unlikely first impressions. The sense of a war stems partly from the quite regular skirmishes ("rumbles") between highly organized, usually well-armed, and even territorially distinct rival gangs. It stems also from the understandable hatred (however unpardonable) of this juvenile underworld toward law-enforcement agencies, a hatred that spills over not infrequently into overt hostilities. And it stems finally from the cruel and usually senseless victimization of random members of the law-abiding community.

But in fact there is no war, there are only patterns that strongly resemble warfare. Even the skirmishes between rival gangs are initiated largely by invitation (although it may not be possible to refuse it): "Do you want a rumble?" is, apparently, a common announcement that sufficient reason has been found for a skirmish to be staged. Nevertheless, there seems to be an understanding between warring companies that a return engagement is always to be expected and that no surrender or compensation could establish peace; moreover, each group seems primarily occupied with the way its own champions conduct themselves. The police are simply a perpetual threat, for the activities of these gangs happen typically to be criminal. That is, I do not believe these delinquents wish merely to be law-breakers; they are fully prepared to break the law and, hence, permanently alienate the police. And again, the victims meaninglessly selected from the law-abiding community are merely victims, the unfortunate innocent bystanders of a gang code that affects them in an altogether contingent way. The code imposes obligations on the membership; compliance leads inevitably to the violence we know so well. But the important matter is compliance and not the breach of law. We, within our adult, law-abiding world, are struck by the frequent horror of these acts; whereas the juveniles themselves have

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hardly considered the victim's personal plight or the anguish of society at large. They are genuinely thoughtless in this respect, so engrossed are they (apart from their immaturity) in leading lives dictated by their own intimate society and in assessing, by their own standards, the talents and reliability and loyalty of their comrades.

I have said also that there must be witnesses. But in a sense, there always are witnesses, because these delinquents specialize in forays, in group adventures in which more than two boys participate. It is important, apparently, that accredited observers attest the prowess, hardness, strength, courage, cruelty, imagination of any single participant. It would be an absolutely idle waste of energy to commit any of the crimes that are committed and to go unnoticed.

I should like to approach this observation in another way. In my opinion, in the large urban centers in which delinquency is most flagrant (and somewhat less noticeably in smaller cities), juvenile gangs constitute the most coherent, publicly self-conscious, and vigorous communities that can be found. I discount businesses, churches, schools, the police and other similar groups as not, properly, forming neighborhoods. The gangs actually live together as social ensembles, the perfection of their communities marred here and there by the impinging adult world. The city is the locale of disintegrating neighborhoods (in the traditional sense) and, conversely, the locale of a rising, novel and peculiarly mobile neighborhood. In short, increasingly in our cities (as well as in certain of the cities of Europe and Asia) the most effective and powerful neighborhoods that exist are juvenile neighborhoods. They are the ones, ironically, that preserve some measure of face-to-face community living. And they are themselves aware of it, at least in that revealing lapse by which their members boldly attack innocent people without fear of reprisal. The law-abiding adult world is distinctly inert, from their point of view, providing only an endless variety of occasions and targets for the exhibition of the skills that are prized within the gang. Even the unfriendly press provides gratuitous and welcome confirmation of the gang's

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own chronicles. And, periodically, the forays themselves lead to large-scale rumbles, which, as is well known, are advertised to all except the police and others interested in law enforcement.

So the adult world is abdicating in large part its neighborhood responsibility and authority and, by its increasing inertia, has allowed control to pass into the hands of vigorous and ardent youngsters, whose code, however, does not promise to preserve the law-abiding values of the old neighborhood. It also happens that cities spring up without ever having had the experience of the old neighborhood solidarity; but this hardly is designed to prevent the rise of the new gangs.

I have put forward what I take to be two important clues for any suitable interpretive model of the sort required. I should like to say something now about such a model. The adult world thinks of these delinquents as deviants, outlaws, irresponsibles; and it is baffled by its inability to contain them. But the juveniles themselves actually form a string of genuine and relatively stable neighborhoods, with a day-to-day code of conduct, a system of sanctions and rewards, a calendar of community life, an educational program, and facilities for communications and the provision and distribution of goods and services. It is a simple society in which everyone is known by name and face and accomplishment; it is an aristocratic society—frequently monarchical—but in any case ruled by the most talented persons (discounting the perversity of the talents preferred). It is in fact *the* society to which these juveniles belong. The adult world, from their point of view, is vaguely defined and alien, usually threatening in its intermittent contact with their own; although, of course, the juvenile cannot ever be entirely free of a subordinate participation in that adult world.

The juvenile neighborhood has, I should say, two principal rituals to perform. It is, as a matter of fact, overwhelmingly concerned with ritual forms. But the two I have in mind bear most directly on the terror and violence that have so shocked the adult world. One is the initiation ritual, and the other is what I can only call the ritual sortie. They are essentially indistinguishable as far

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as overt behavior is concerned; they are different only in their purpose. The initiation ritual has to do with recruitment, the selection of suitable members of an elite society. The ritual sortie has to do with status and prestige within that society, both a requirement of members in good standing and an opportunity for the advancement of the ambitious and the talented. The society is usually, at its most audacious, a society of warriors and "free" souls who accept only those limitations upon conduct that, as a corporation, they themselves impose. But it is also a society of pranksters, gaming companions, exhibitionists, children, concerned as much with extremities of style in dress and speech as with murder and theft. It is always, however, a loyal brotherhood provided with a more or less clear schedule of honors. And it leads what is essentially a public life, protected as far as possible from the eyes of law-enforcement agencies.

If we are to understand this model, we shall find that we must look to some surprising parallels. I should suggest, because of its familiarity, that of the Knights of the Round Table, without at all ignoring the willingness of our own juvenile gangs to give themselves—in all candor and accuracy—sinister and evil and even repugnant names. It is important to notice that there are no ready models (even models that they might pervert) to be found in the law-abiding adult world. And it is important also to isolate that critical feature of their own way of life that is so entirely alien to the more or less official ideology of the adult world.

The feature in question may perhaps most succinctly be described as "climax-technique" (I borrow the term from the accounts of the code of life of the pagan Teutonic knights). I submit that our juvenile gangs implicitly subscribe to this significant principle, however corrupt their particular values may be said to be. Briefly, the routine of ordinary, unadventurous life is quite worthless, boring, idle to our juveniles; it is made supportable only by celebrating previous sorties and by preparation for others. In an odd sense, then, the juvenile does not wish to be idle—idleness is death to him. But, curiously, he considers the life of the adult world (and his submission to it) an idle life and, corre-

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spondingly, the adult world views his exploits also as a species of idling. The significance of his life lies exclusively in the climactic and perilous mountain peaks of the adventures he enters into so wholeheartedly (an important inversion of the purity of the soul we associate with, say, the devotion of the Round Table Knights). So he proves himself from episode to episode—whether by torture, theft, sexual liberties, murder, fighting, vandalism, drinking—always in accord with the strict code of his own society.

The values of the adult world have to do with docility and safety and, most important, with the merits of prolonged routine work. It is here, therefore, that we have the most dramatic evidence of the breakdown in the educational apparatus of the adult world, of the autonomy of the juvenile: we must acknowledge the existence of a subsociety that effectively recruits and instructs novices (willing or not) in a way of life that, in the most fundamental manner possible, is opposed to the values of an otherwise incredibly powerful society. The juvenile world is simply slipping through very strong nets; but, as it does, it is also managing to get control of the vital neighborhood. It repudiates the declared values of the adult world and, finding itself potentially in control of an unorganized neighborhood, simply reinforces the quite naturally intimate and sustained society of the young and moves to institutionalize its own values. It is necessarily parasitic, feeding on the wealth and skills and goods of the adult world, relieved therefore of any positive concern with the maintenance of the requisite routines; and thus relieved, it is almost entirely free to pursue those special ritual adventures by which it distinguishes itself.

The phenomenon of the delinquent gang is not an altogether new one. Gang and quasi-tribal patterns are quite familiar among adolescents, patterns at once compulsive and inclined toward outlawry. Still, we cannot fail to notice certain distinctive features of the current delinquency: the advanced decline in adult participation in the forming and maintaining of neighborhood policy, particularly with respect to the hour-to-hour activities of the adolescent, and the apparently easy accessibility of dangerous weapons.

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We may also remark the juvenile's interest in the publicized exploits of otherwise unfamiliar criminal "heroes." Delinquency appears to have taken on an epidemic quality, and the criminal achievements of newly discovered offenders invite appraisal and emulation. In fact, the ever-efficient press actually facilitates the standardization of juvenile conduct, hence that of juvenile crime. It has, for example, become altogether common for informal, small and inexperienced groups of juveniles spontaneously to attempt dangerous, violent sorties of the kind formerly reserved for the most desperate criminals: we hear every day of unbelievable crimes motivated by pure whim.

Although it would be madness to refuse to admit the threat posed by juvenile gangs and their responsibility for their own crimes, it would be a serious blunder to imagine that increasing the severity of penalties for juvenile criminals will in any way reduce their activity. Similar measures have not affected senior crime. Given the mentality of the juvenile types I have been trying to describe, such measures can only serve to make their lives more daring and more exciting, without at all disturbing the solidarity of their society. Punishment, then, is a force somewhat misapplied, since it aims at restraining the juvenile and not at recovering his allegiance. But it is precisely this allegiance that the adult world has lost.

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THE INVASION OF PRIVACY (5)

The Modern Case of Mistaken Identity

ROBERT STRUNSKY

IN ANY CONSIDERATION OF THE QUESTION OF PRIVACY it would seem mandatory to accept the sovereign role of human individuality as a premise. This intrinsic element of life that distinguishes not only our species, but each of us from the other, is surely the most private of our possessions, the one most deserving of protection against invasion.

From this viewpoint, it may be argued that the two forces that have contributed most effectively to the decline of privacy in our society are those to which we are most deeply committed, namely, the scientific spirit and the democratic ideal. For each presumes a body of principle and method that in certain aspects, at least, may be viewed as antagonistic to the essence of human individuality. Indeed, if there is a single lesson that science seems to teach, or a single practice on which democracy seems to frown, it is the error of viewing the world subjectively and acting in accordance with this view.

As members of a society that has flourished notably under the influence of these two forces, we have learned this lesson well. So well, in fact, that one of our most abiding preoccupations today is the fear of subjectivity. We find ourselves in a relatively constant state of suspicion, if not apprehension, concerning the validity of those judgments and decisions that are the product of our instincts

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This article is the fifth in an AMERICAN SCHOLAR series on the invasion of privacy. Other contributors include Richard H. Rovere, August Heckscher, Granville Hicks and Gerald W. Johnson.

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and intuitions, and that spring from the discrete nature of our individuality. For in the absence of empirical confirmation or widespread acceptance, who can say whether these judgments are correct or the decisions worthy of commitment?

With respect to both our physical environment and psychological nature, science has clearly encouraged this sense of apprehension. In the process of altering the knowledge of the past—a past that is frequently no more remote than yesterday—science continues to substitute a world of relativism for one of absolutes. In the process of expanding the universe of knowledge, science continues to demonstrate how little of this universe each of us can hope to know or understand. Moreover, it affirms this knowledge on the strength of a process that is both alien and inimical to any subjective approach to reality. It is a process that embraces a rigorous, impersonal discipline of observation, analysis and verification, and offers little room for that liberty demanded by Milton "to know, to utter and to argue freely according to conscience."

Thus, in terms of both substance and method, to say nothing of mood, science has shaken the confidence of the individual in the validity of his independent judgments as a guide to the discovery of truth. It has not only made him less certain of the nature of his external environment, but by challenging his autonomous techniques of perception, it has made him less certain of those values and aspirations that constitute his internal environment, that is to say, his unique identity.

In this frontal assault on individuality, democracy has joined forces with science. Through a generalized and shallow view of the democratic ideal, there is an increasing tendency to equate values with numbers and to substitute the public ethic for the personal one. This is not a new phenomenon in American life, having been foreseen more than a century ago by De Tocqueville as a form of "tyranny of the majority"—and intolerant pressure by the many on the political, social and religious values of the few. In point of fact, it has never manifested itself in this particular form. Instead, it has rather taken the form today of an indiscriminate worship of popularity that has resulted in attributing an inherent virtue to those

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sentiments and values shared by the greatest number. Inevitably, the very weight of these numbers exerts a subtle yet penetrating influence on any individual structure of values. As Bryce put it:

> . . . out of the mingled feelings that the multitude will prevail, and that the multitude, because it will prevail, must be right, there grows a self-distrust, a despondency, a disposition to fall into line, to acquiesce in the dominant opinion, to submit thought as well as action to the encompassing power of numbers.

The events of the past winter on both an individual and corporate level have provided tragic and disquieting evidence of this tendency to surrender a private ethic to a misguided estimate of public morality. It is difficult to explain otherwise the reluctance of a major corporation to dismiss a nationally popular employee for transparent misconduct until it learned, first, what the public reaction might be to such misconduct, and, second, what it might be to such dismissal. It is equally difficult to explain in any other terms the employee's reluctance to testify truthfully before a grand jury until urged by the public to do so. It can only be inferred that the precepts learned at a mother's knee were insufficiently compelling beside those received from the unseen audience—that the private injunction, per se, was less valid than the public admonition.

It is hardly surprising that the genius of a society so deeply committed to the aims of democracy and science should excel in developing a technology ideally designed to serve these objectives. In no other nation have the instruments of mass production, distribution and communication reached the degree of efficiency that they have in ours. Our assembly lines, supermarkets and mass communications, devised primarily with one end in view—to supply the needs, appetites and interests of the greatest number—continue to achieve this objective with notable proficiency.

Moreover, we have been equally ingenious in developing techniques to determine and measure in advance the nature and extent of these needs and interests, as is evident in our elaborate apparatus of opinion polls, market analysis and other barometers of audience reaction. Through the sophisticated use of advertising,

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publicity and public relations, we have constructed highly effective instruments to shape and influence the appetites, interests and opinions of the majority. Some years ago the headline of a life insurance advertisement symbolized, perhaps as effectively as any single phrase can, the quantitative emphasis in our national outlook. Displaying an aerial photograph of a street massed with people, the advertisement stated, "We Can't Say Who, But We Can Say *How Many*." Although intended as a dramatic intimation of our mortality, it was an equally grim reminder of our essential anonymity.

This sense of anonymity is further encouraged by a common terminology that increasingly tends to categorize the individual as a *consumer, voter, viewer, reader, housewife,* et cetera—in a word, as a functional statistic whose primary identity and value lie in his multiplicity rather than in his uniqueness. At best, the process is degrading; at worst, it is dangerous, since it is not without its traumatic consequences.

Man views himself in a somewhat larger context than the dimensions suggested by any one of his specific activities. He has been exposed too long to the notion that he cannot live by bread alone to regard his exclusive role in life as that of a consumer. His estimate of himself is apt to find expression in more idealized terms: "What a piece of work is a man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculty! . . . In action how like an angel! . . . In apprehension how like a god!" This is clearly a subjective view—but to deny its reality on such grounds is to remove a controlling element of human dynamism.

It can hardly be denied that our technology has ideally served the material needs of a democratic, industrialized and expanding society. But in so doing, there is compelling evidence that it has rendered considerable disservice to the psychological needs of the society—that is, to the need of each of its members to have a strong, specific and unmistakable awareness of his identity.

The question becomes insistent the more deeply one examines the refinements of our technological compulsions. Recognizing the unreality of the individual as a faceless statistic, technology has

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given him the human lineaments and physical environment that stare out at us daily from the four-color advertisements in our magazines and from the filmed commercials on our television screens. Here he lives in hygienic and mechanized comfort and—if we are to believe the advocates of "togetherness"—in emotional security.

The image commends itself to satire. But to satirize it is to evade the responsibility of its implications, since it is an image of virtue in the eyes of many of its onlookers. More significantly, it is an image appropriate to its time and place, machined with the precision that only the most modern tools of social science can contrive: bland, efficient, flexible and uncommitted, free from the festering doubt and imperfection of human individuality. It is the image of a creature spawned, after split-second gestation, in the electronic womb of a computer that has been inseminated with the socio-economic data pertaining to a society.

In the context of a world whose past is irrelevant, whose present is amorphous and whose future is obscure, such an image is not without its appeal, for by the very nature of its origin and creation it precludes the necessity for moral commitment.

Today this question of commitment is a matter of both public and private concern. Its theme can be heard swelling through our organs of editorial opinion and re-echoing in the public declarations of our business, educational and political leaders. It arises most frequently with reference to the central conflict of our time. As a prominent official of one of the country's largest corporations recently remarked: "If we are to compete successfully in this race for world leadership, our motivations need realignment to a national objective. . . ." He was reiterating the prevalent belief that we seem to lack a unifying commitment to a common goal, a belief that is strengthened by glancing at our major rivals. Such a glance leaves a sharp impression of the opposite condition—a sense of commitment that appears to be profound, cohesive and all-enveloping, that animates the thought and actions of an entire people, and that serves as an energizing and rallying force. The contrast is a source of anxiety.

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But the lack of national objective is not the whole answer, if, indeed, it is even a part. It cannot be said that we have no attitude about the kind of society we admire or wish to build. If the daily output of energy, ingenuity and focus is any indication, there is considerable evidence that we know what we want and like what we are getting. What is not as clear, perhaps, is that we like what is happening to us while we are getting it.

It could be argued that much of our concern may have its source in the processes with which we are involved rather than in our national objectives. What may really be troubling us is the challenge offered by technology to our ascendancy as individuals —a challenge recently articulated by no less distinguished a scientific figure than Dr. Norbert Wiener, who proffered the thesis that "machines can and do transcend some of the limitations of their designers."

In contemplating the possibility that our intrinsic faculties are no longer adequate, in the present context of our society, to meet the problems we face, we are conscious of having lost part of our identity. And as this society continues relentlessly to measure and motivate us, we are inescapably left with an overwhelming sense of being acted upon rather than acting.

The corollary is inescapable—calling clearly for the individual to make himself over (to the degree that is humanly possible) into an image of the machine. In the eagerness with which many of us are content to accept data for judgment, methodology for conclusions, the statistical for the moral view, it is already possible here and there to observe the early stages of this conversion.

There are some who see in the current abstractions of contemporary art and music further symptoms of the fear of personal commitment. It is discernible in the increasing emphasis on form as opposed to content, in the concentration on the elements of texture, shape and color, and in the preoccupation with the specific techniques of execution. They see in these tendencies a conscious effort on the part of the artist to avoid the creation of any image or emotion that might be recognized as reflecting a particular point of view.

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In the same way the imagination of the contemporary composer is increasingly drawn to the potentialities of electronic sound, partly because of its freedom from the subjectivity of human performance, partly because of its opportunities to produce combinations of sounds that are beyond the ability of the performer to reproduce. The fact that many of these sounds extend beyond the audible threshold of the listener is apparently not controlling. In terms of the power that music has exerted historically on the human imagination, these values seem strangely eclectic. Nevertheless, there are substantial portions of the public who are keenly receptive to these tendencies, finding in them both corroboration and response to their own need for detachment and disengagement.

Today the relatively secluded environment of the home and family remains perhaps the last refuge of subjectivity. Yet even here the inroads of science and democracy are visible. They may be seen in the voluminous literature on social adjustment and child psychology, and in such fetishes of egalitarianism as the first-name relationship of parent and child. However, the home still retains its essentially unscientific, undemocratic, indeed totalitarian coloration. It continues to be a place where the individual feels reasonably secure in the release of his emotions, in his freedom to improvise intuitively a system of values, and to impose them on his immediate society. While these values may be arbitrary, and frequently erroneous, they have the virtue of spontaneous generation, of having been arrived at autonomously.

They have, to be sure, an even larger virtue that is both peculiar and exclusive to the family unit—namely, the underlying premise and motivation of affection and interdependence. It is this premise, unconsciously shared by each member of the family, that compensates for any excess of the totalitarian spirit, for as long as such motivation is present, it carries its own built-in safeguards against the native barbarity of the species.

The same cannot be said for the larger societies of the community, the nation and the world. There appears to be no opportunity for such motivation to assert its dominance over the relationships that govern the activities of these societies. It would seem that such

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inherently selfless concepts as democracy and science, based as they are on a valuation of the dignity of man and the pursuit of truth, are as yet unable to generate with sufficient intensity those qualities of affection and devotion that mark our most intimate relationships and that give the fullest expression to our individuality.

It would be clearly irrational to suggest turning back on these concepts. But there can be, perhaps, a turning back, or more accurately, a reappraisal of some of the practices that democracy and science have inspired. For the task that clearly confronts democracy and science today is that of re-animating each of us with a vibrant sense of our individuality, of providing it with the opportunity of recapturing its once sovereign role, and of restoring to man his natural capacity for moral fervor.

Difficult as this task may be to achieve in the expanding organization of modern society, it is nevertheless a task to which our technological compulsions might well address themselves. For man can find reality only in his relationship to man, or—to employ the seductive dialectic of our time—in the essential feedback that only a shared humanity can provide.

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Reflections on Mass Culture

ERNEST VAN DEN HAAG

BY AND LARGE, people seriously concerned with mass culture fall into three groups. There is first a nucleus of artists and literary men, supported by a few theoreticians. They feel isolated, alienated, submerged and pushed aside by mass culture; their hopes are dim and they detest it. The literati and the theoreticians are opposed by another group—the practical men, who have decided it is their duty to work for the mass media in spite of the opulent salaries pressed on them. Sedulously aided by academic fellow travelers, they resolutely defend popular culture and their own *sacrificium intellectus.*

The third and largest group stays squarely in the middle, although for motley reasons. Most sociologists are located here; they have been taught that to be anywhere else, particularly when cultural matters are involved, is unscientific. Besides, many of them lack the trained sensibility that would discriminate between, say, English prose and their own writing. Liberal philosophers, on the other hand, have investigated the impossibilities of justifying value judgments for so long that they regard anyone criticizing mass culture for moral or aesthetic reasons as bold but naïve. There is no evidence, they seem to say, for practically any view; hence, let's close our eyes and discuss methodology.

With all that, liberal philosophers seem to stress, somewhat unilaterally, the lack of evidence for negative views of mass culture. Perhaps they feel uneasy with rejections of mass culture because of

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political fears—misplaced ones, in my opinion. They seem unable to free themselves from the suspicion that a rejection of mass culture implies a rejection of the masses (although the contrary is no less logical) and is, therefore, antidemocratic. However, this is a *non sequitur*. One might think little of the cultural capacity of the masses but not therefore of their political capacity.* But even if one thinks little of their political competence, one might still feel that there is no reason why they should not suffer, benefit and possibly learn from its use (and no more is needed to argue for democracy). Finally, although one might be somewhat pessimistic about the masses, one might be even more so about the political capacity of restricted groups. At any rate, neither mass culture nor objections to it seem to promote specific political views: fascists and communists, as often as liberals, favor mass culture, although they occasionally borrow some phrases from its opponents.

Historians, who of all men might be expected to discern the uniqueness of mass culture, seldom do. When they pay heed to mass culture as a historical phenomenon, they seem to take the wrong cue. Thus, Stuart Hughes recently observed, in a perceptive paper, that "our students yawn over the classics" because they have "very little to do with their own lives." He implies that we might as well forget about the classics. This seems odd. Students have always yawned over the classics—only, in times past, teachers were not so sensitive to their own popularity rating nor so eager to entertain their students as to be willing to drop the classics. They dropped some yawning students instead and kept the interested ones. An immature mind cannot understand the classics; and it matures, in part, by learning to understand them—or, at least, to know them so that they may be understood later. Students brought up in an age of rapid technological change may be convinced that literature, like machinery, is subject to obsolescence—a conviction some teachers share or dare not oppose enough to crack the shell. Perhaps this is what makes the classics seem irrelevant.

Yet the classics, if truly classic, cannot be irrelevant, for they

* Conversely, I have not found cultivated people to be politically very sagacious. (I'd prefer to entrust my political destiny to farmers or workers rather than to professors as a group.)

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deal with subjects relevant to the universal human predicament in ways to be re-experienced perennially. Of course, it is possible that we have become irrelevant to the classics: if our lives have lost all meaning, then no literature worthy of that name can be meaningful to us. For it is the possible meaning of human life that classic literature explores; and we cannot be interested without any experience of meaning and style in our own lives. If we have no such experience, then entertainment bereft of meaning—diversion from boredom, time killing, mass culture—is all that remains. In this case, the relevant must become irrelevant, and only what is irrelevant to begin with can be absorbed. But I'm not yet willing to give up altogether. Under favorable conditions, the study of literature helps us see the possibilities of man's career on earth.

While some are ready to yield to those bored by high culture, others are convinced that the mass media can serve, indeed do serve, to bring high culture to the masses, and that in doing so they justify their existence or, at least, render an important service. Popular magazines may have authors such as Norman Vincent Peale, the argument goes, but don't they also publish an occasional uncensored article by Bertrand Russell? They do. However, a piece by a major philosopher does not make a philosophical magazine out of *Look*—it may make a popular journalist out of the philosopher. In the stream of, at best, diverting banalities, the worth-while piece tends to disappear without impact. It may seduce a Russell to lower his standards and write more such pieces, becoming less worth while and more acceptable in the process. It won't lure *Look* readers into the *Principia Mathematica.* Mass culture can be decorated with high culture pieces without being otherwise changed.

Note further that Russell's opinions are not offered to *Look* readers because of their intrinsic merit; they are offered because they are *his* opinions. Russell is by now a public figure, which means that he can be published without being taken seriously. Had I written the same words, I could not have broken into *Look*, pre-

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cisely because people might have taken the utterance seriously instead of gobbling it up with the rest of the fare, while captivated by the utterer's fame.

Not everybody defends the mass media as vehicles that bring elements of high culture to the masses. Some depict the culture of the masses, articulated by the mass media in their normal offerings, as superior to high culture to begin with. Thus, one of mass culture's most faithful admirers, Mr. Gilbert Seldes, recently explained that he thinks more highly of Charlie Chaplin than of Marcel Proust because the former has brought more happiness to more people than the latter. Now happiness is hard to measure, and I am not sure that it makes sense to compare the feeling of a person reading Proust to that of another seeing Chaplin. We may grant, however, that more persons have been amused and diverted by Chaplin than by Proust. Still more people are made happy or are diverted by whiskey, apple pie, penicillin, Marilyn Monroe or, perhaps, by a movie that Mr. Seldes and I might agree is thoroughly bad. In short, making people happy is a criterion only if that is what one sets out to do—and I doubt that this was Proust's purpose or the purpose of any serious writer. Surely more persons enjoy Rodgers and Hammerstein than Bach—more enjoy Liberace than Glen Gould. By definition, popular culture is enjoyed by more people than high culture. Mr. Seldes' view would sanction the elimination of art in favor of entertainment—high-class entertainment, at best.

And this is precisely what I am afraid of. Mass culture demands entertainment and so extravagantly rewards those who provide it with money, prestige and power that serious artists become isolated —and tempted. To be sure, such tendencies have always existed; but now they prevail. The strength of the offerings of mass culture, compared with those of art, has risen immensely, and the dividing line has been blurred.

The chances for the values of mass culture to be internalized in childhood also have greatly increased, so that what I have described as temptation is not felt to be such, but, on the contrary, as the due reward for well-directed, talented efforts. The view held

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by Mr. Seldes in all innocence is widely accepted by less articulate persons. It is a very basic American view, a naïvely pragmatic and philanthropic view that refuses to recognize what cannot be tangibly measured in terms at once hedonistic and altruistic.* The measurement for art thus becomes the number of people made happy—and as soon as this becomes the end of art, art ends.

The answer to those who oppose pessimistic views on mass culture lies here. They argue that there is no evidence that the masses are culturally worse off. (I suspect they are far from well off, but comparisons are nearly impossible.) As far as the elite is concerned, they ask what prevents it from being as creative as ever? Why can't it coexist with mass culture? Haven't there always been several coexisting levels of culture? Can't we have a pluralistic society?

This reasonable argument overlooks the historically most distinctive and important characteristic of mass culture: the dominant power of the mass of consumers over production, public opinion and prestige. The elite in the past was sufficiently isolated and protected from the masses (which, properly speaking, did not exist as such) to be able to cultivate its own garden. And the mass market (hardly in existence) had nothing much to offer. Further, power, income and prestige distribution being what they were, the masses had no desire to impinge on the culture of the elite; on the contrary, they made room for it. At any rate, if they had a wish to participate or encroach, they had no way of making their demands felt and of articulating them. (Even political revolutions, before Hitler, were led and inspired by members of the elite.) But this has changed. We all now cultivate cash crops in market gardens. Mass culture is manufactured according to the demands of the mass market. No *independent* elite culture is left, for mass culture is far too pervasive to permit it. Cultivated individuals and islands of high culture remain, of course. But they are interstitial and on the defensive even when admired and respected;

* When the Puritan American heritage collided with the more hedonistic attitudes of later immigrants, an interesting fusion resulted. Pleasure, the Puritans implied, is bad; sacrifice, good. The immigrants wanted to pursue happiness. The resulting attitude is: the pleasure sacrificed and given to others is all right, as is the happiness shared and given. What is bad becomes good if it is not enjoyed by oneself but produced for others.

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indeed, then more than ever, for they easily may be "taken up" and typecast. The intellect when alive is not part of our social structure, nor does it have its own domicile.

A convinced egalitarian may ask, So what? No more elite, no more high culture; but the great majority of people—who never belonged—have what they wish. To be sure, most people never were, are not now, and are unlikely ever to be interested in high culture. Yet, it does not follow that high culture is unimportant. Its importance cannot be measured by the number of people to whom it is important. Political issues may be decided by majority vote (or, at least, by letting the majority choose who is to decide them). This is surely not a good way, but nevertheless, I think, the best available.

However, the analogy between political issues and cultural issues (or, for that matter, moral ones) is inappropriate. Political issues, by whatever means they are decided, require collective action. Taxes cannot be levied only on those who feel they benefit proportionately from a pattern of public expenditure, or on individuals who are willing to vote for them. With art and literature it is otherwise, or it was. They could be cultivated by intellectual elites, without mass participation. This is becoming less possible every day. Mass culture threatens to decide cultural issues by a sort of universal suffrage. This is a threat to culture, not an occasion for rejoicing. For once cultural issues are regarded as indivisible, the majority view will prevail—and the majority prefers entertainment to art. Yet, unlike properly political matters, cultural ones do not require collective action, but rather that the mass of people and the law do not interfere. Culture cannot be created by political actions, although it can be destroyed by them. (The support of social groups is required, of course, but not that of society—or of masses—except inasmuch as it makes the existence of the social groups possible.) There would never have been any serious art, philosophy or literature if a majority vote had decided whether a given work was to be created and presented.

Yet, even if these things are important only to a few people, they are the best and most important people, the saving remnant.

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Actually, these things and these people are important even to those who ignorantly sneer at them. Such feelings as love; such experiences as wit, beauty or moral obligation; or styles of congress, housing and living—all, however degenerate they may become, are brought into existence and elaborated by artists and intellectuals. Without them, life is formless. With them, there is, at least, a paradigm. The most common of human experiences and the most trite still depend on artists and intellectuals to become fully conscious and articulate. Even the silliest entertainer and his public are part of, or are parasites of, a long line of creators of cultural expression—artists, philosophers, writers, composers, et cetera. For as Bernard Berenson suggested, "Popular art is always a derivation from professional individual art." Just as the technician depends on pure scientists he may never have heard of, so civilized nations in general depend on the creators of cultural expression—intellectuals and artists. The relation of the cultural elite to the masses may be compared to the relation of the saints and the cloistered to the faithful at large. Or, the cultural elite may be compared to the playwrights and the actors on stage, whose words, actions, costumes and settings are of significance to the spectators across the footlights, even though they are but spectators.

Although few people become outstanding mathematicians, scholars and artists, or understand what these are doing, society must permit those who cultivate such activities their separate existence or cease to be civilized. And the loss and degeneration of civilization injures everyone—the living and the unborn generations for whom we should hold in trust their rightful heritage. It is not enough, either, to permit some individual specialists to go their way. We need an intellectual and artistic elite (joined, of course, by merit) supported by a necessarily restricted and therefore discriminating public, both with reasonably continuous traditions. If this elite is not allowed autonomy and self-cultivation, if instead it is induced to follow mass tastes and to cater to them, there can be no cultural creation. We may parasitically ring a few changes on the culture of the past; we may find ways to entertain ourselves; but we won't have a style and an experience of our own.

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I should not object to cultural pluralism—to mass culture coexisting with high culture—if it were possible. (Folk culture is long dead—although many people don't know a zombie when they see one.) A universally shared high culture is, of course, absurd and self-contradictory. This may sound snobbish, but I didn't make the world; I'm merely describing it. Talents as well as intelligence and sensitivity to various values are differentially distributed. We are lucky if 1 or 2 per cent of the population can be creative in any sense and 15 to 20 per cent can cultivate some sensibility. The remainder benefits indirectly.

The trouble with mass culture is that in various direct and indirect ways it tends to make the existence of high culture impossible. In our eagerness to open opportunity to everybody, we have greatly diminished the prizes available to anybody. Good wine is hard to cultivate when it is habitually diluted and we are brought up to be indiscriminate. We might do well to abandon the sterile and injurious attempts to "improve" mass culture, for its main effect is to debase high culture by "bringing it to the masses." What we must do is to bring some gifted people—not masses—to high culture. We must concentrate on finding ways to save and transmit high culture independently of the culture of mass society. My own view is pessimistic. I should like nothing better than to be proved wrong.

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reappraisals

Joyce Cary's Swimming Swan

HAZARD ADAMS

With the publication of Joyce Cary's posthumous novel, *The Captive and the Free*, and the appearance of the first book-length critical study of his work, Andrew Wright's *Joyce Cary: A Preface to his Novels*, most American critics are put in the odd position of having to revisit a novelist whom they have either never met or almost totally ignored. For eighteen years between the publication of Cary's first novel, *Aissa Saved* (1932), and the 1950 American edition of *The Horse's Mouth*, no American critic I can think of bothered so much as to hoot. English critics were even less friendly, if we are to consider that simple proximity was in their favor. Indeed, most of Cary's novels did not appear in American editions until the fifties, and some have never appeared here at all. Even as recently as 1958, the London *Times Literary Supplement*'s reviewer of Wright's critical study could not suppress his lack of sympathy. He argued that Cary had character and imagination but lacked intellect, that his themes were inclined to "get lost or tangled up under the multicolored tumble of words, the trampling of characters deliriously and often splendidly out of hand." He attacked the second trilogy as failing quite seriously "in other than human terms" because Cary "had no real grasp of the politics of the first quarter of this century."

Indeed, the *Times* has been baffled by Cary for quite a while. In 1942, it wrote that the "imaginative motive of *To Be a Pilgrim* appears confused. . . . it lacks coherence of pattern." In 1944, it characterized *The Horse's Mouth* as "portentously trifling in content and monotonous and fatiguing to read." Even in 1952, the *Times* complained, in its befuddlement, of *Prisoner of Grace*: "The reader is never quite clear whether the story illustrates the incredible complication of human relationship where love and marriage are concerned, or whether our attention should be concentrated on the course of a typical political career during the past 50 years." It seems never to have dawned upon the *Times* that Cary was asking us to fix our attention on more than both of these things and that no good novel can be evaluated in terms of such simple criteria.

Cary's earlier novels apparently presented the same kind of problem. In 1932, the *Times* reviewer, obviously looking for some discursively presented conclusion, some "point" or "subject" in *Aissa Saved*, accused Cary of excessive objectivity. Such nonsensical commentary cannot long prevail once people begin to visit or revisit Cary's early novels. It is clearly absurd in

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the light of Cary's major achievements, the so-called "first" and "political" trilogies.

Even though this kind of critical myopia is far better forgotten, its causes challenge my curiosity; I think that the word "political," the perhaps unfortunate label attached to the second trilogy, may tell us one of the reasons for Cary's having received so little critical sympathy and even less understanding for so long a time. Criticism of fiction has been mainly of two kinds. That which is derived from the new critical movement is primarily aesthetic and symbolist. It holds somewhere among its theoretical assumptions that a piece of fiction is not *about* something. It usually eschews, therefore, propagandistic literature or literature which invites one to draw a simple moral. Not, I think, naïvely formalist as practiced, it is nevertheless unwilling in theory to draw conclusions previous to an examination of all formal complexities. Critics of this persuasion would tend to shy away from novels labeled "political" or even perhaps from novels written "on the subject of Africa" (*Aissa Saved*, 1932; *An American Visitor*, 1933; *The African Witch*, 1936; *Mister Johnson*, 1939) by a man known to have certain quite definite ideas about African politics (see *The Case for African Freedom*, 1941; and *Britain and West Africa*, 1946).

The other kind of criticism is socially and politically oriented and often written, like the Marxist criticism that flourished in the thirties, from a particular political theory. Coming suddenly upon Cary's so-called "political" novels, including the second trilogy, almost any critic committed to, say, Marxism, socialism, liberalism or toryism would find everything to disagree with and nothing to accept. Similarly both an Africa-firster and a rigid colonialist would feel somehow that their whole worlds were being attacked by Cary's African novels. It would seem to me that none of Cary's African novels is as committed to a definable attitude toward colonialism as is Forster's *A Passage to India*, which is hardly a propagandistic or "political" novel. This is not a flaw in Cary's novels, as the 1932 *Times* reviewer seemed to think, nor is it to say that Cary had no clear political attitudes. They have been stated in several books (see *Power in Men*, 1939, and *Process of Real Freedom*, 1943) and essays (Andrew Wright provides a bibliography), but the centers of his novels seem to me ultimately aesthetic. I do not think that all of this defends the critics for their neglect of Cary, but I think it may explain that neglect.

On the other hand, Cary himself helped to create the illusion that his novels were "subject" novels—by saying (but in a different way from the critics) that his trilogy was on "politics"; by contemplating another trilogy on the subject of "religion"; and by writing for later editions of his novels a series of, I think, rather oddly misleading prefaces. But although Cary seems here and there to have implied that his novels are written on specific "subjects," in other places he has given a different impression—that politics, art and religion are the particulars through which he expresses something deeper than any one of these things in itself. In an interesting letter quoted by Andrew Wright, he refers to the beliefs of Chester Nimmo, the central figure of the second, "political" trilogy:

> What I believe is what Nimmo believes, that wangle is inevitable in the modern state, that is to say, there is no choice between persuading people and shooting them. But it was not my job to state a thesis in a novel, my business was to show individual minds in action and the kind of world they produce and the political and aesthetic and moral problems of such a world. In short (in the trilogy), the political situation as I conceive it in *my* world of the creative free individual.

Surely here the business of showing "individual minds" is that deeper expression, and this interest places Cary among the modern writers in a romantic tradition concerned with expressing an interior or mental world. Although his "subjects" seem to indicate a social preoccupation, the center of his scene is always the isolated or occasionally expansive human mind and its very special relation to whatever it is that is out beyond it. His concern, like the con-

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cern of Wordsworth or Blake, is the independent and creative imagination. He reminds one of Blake in asserting that freedom of imagination in the fallen world is man's glory; he is also aware that in the fallen world the fact of freedom is also the fact of tragedy, that as Andrew Wright has pointed out, "It is the glory and tragedy of man that, possessed of the free imagination he seeks fulfilment, which, however, is destroyed by the very act of fulfilment." Although some romantic poets were unable to complete their most ambitious poems, Cary was able to complete his trilogies; he embodied the tragic perception in his novels, not in the fact of their incompleteness. He tells us somewhere that Blake, who completed his major poem, was an important influence upon him as an undergraduate, and we can see that Blake's apocalyptic transcendence of the fallen world could have provided him with the detachment that sees the comic in the tragic rather than the tragic in the comic. In the career of the Blakean artist Gulley Jimson, for example, there is constant failure but also fulfilment, which seems to burst through the boundaries of the fallen world and violate the law that failure is the rule. This sense of what we can call Jimson's imaginative, momentary creation of eternity associates Cary with Blake's epistemological interest as well as his idea of art.

But Cary is no late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century writer any more than he is, as some readers have thought, an imitator of Defoe and Richardson. The similarities between *Herself Surprised* and *Moll Flanders*, although interesting, begin to disappear when we examine the two central figures, Sara Monday and Moll. And the sense of the comitragic, it seems to me, puts Cary very clearly among those twentieth-century writers who have been strongly influenced by the aesthetics and epistemological interests of the romantic movement. His interest is always the problem of knowledge. He is always concerned with the individual's isolation, the cave of the mind, whether that cave be as large as Africa, as medium-sized as the old liberal party or as microcosmically gigantic as the single human soul: "We are almost entirely cut off from each other in mind, entirely independent in thought and so we have to learn everything for ourselves." Such is Cary's fallen world, where the forms of our knowledge, by which we can learn to survive and express ourselves, are paradoxically walls against our truly communal energies of feeling, sympathy and even artistic intuition.

In his extremely interesting and readable little book *Art and Reality*, Cary quarrels with Benedetto Croce's failure to distinguish between intuition and artistic expression. It is all very well, argues Cary, for the observer of art not to make such a distinction; but the artist's whole struggle is to form his intuition in the terms allowed to him by the world. Intuition must be made good in the forms, and one of the problems of the fallen world is our tendency, as we learn more and more, to build an abstract world at war with intuition. In his book Cary tells us a charming story about a seven-year-old child who offered to draw him a swan:

> I'd forgotten about the swan until she produced the most original swan I'd ever seen. It was a swimming swan, that is, a creature designed simply to swim. Its feet were enormous and very carefully finished, obviously from life. The whole structure of the feet was shown in heavy black lines. The child was used to seeing swans on a canal at the end of her garden and had taken particular notice of their feet. Below the water the swan was all power. But for body she gave it the faintest, lightest outline, neck and wings included in one round line shaped rather like a cloud—a perfect expression of the cloud-like movement of the swan on the surface.
>
> I was admiring this swan when an older child in the room, aged thirteen, looked at the drawing and said contemptuously, "That's not a bit like a swan. I'll draw you a swan," and produced at once a Christmas-card swan of the commonest type.

The latter child was educated in part, but to become an artist she would have had not only to learn much more but to unlearn the learning.

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Cary's romanticism is that of the twentieth century, consistent with the growth of the neo-Kantian doctrine of symbolic forms. His adoption of triple focus and narration in his two trilogies seems to me as valid a way to present experience as the method of Joyce or Woolf when they enter the thoughts of their characters below the level of articulate statement. In Cary we have the narrators coming face to face with the forms. They are not merely thinking, they are attempting to think *and* communicate. Cary's method expresses the creative freedom of his characters insofar as their language will allow it; but it also expresses, insofar as they fail, their isolation. The constant tension expressed by the isolation and creativity of each of these characters provides me with much respect for Cary's achievement in the trilogies. Everything that each of his narrators describes becomes a part of the narrator, expresses himself. The novels are maps of the interior of each speaking soul, judged also in terms of the visions which the three narrators have of each other.

Yet in spite of these Blakean concerns, Cary has less in common with Blake as an artist than he has with Blake's view of Chaucer's art as it is expressed in Blake's essay describing his engraving of Chaucer's Canterbury pilgrims:

> The characters of Chaucer's Pilgrims are the characters which compose all nations: as one age falls, another rises, different to mortal sight, but to immortals only the same; for we see the same characters repeated again and again, in animals, vegetables, minerals, and in men; nothing new occurs in identical existence; Accident ever varies, Substance can never change nor decay.
>
> Of Chaucer's characters, as described in his Canterbury Tales, some of the names or titles are altered by time, but the characters themselves for ever remain unaltered, and consequently they are the physiognomies or lineaments of universal human life.

For Blake, Chaucer's narrators were particularizations of archetypes. It is interesting to see that Andrew Wright associates Sara Monday more closely with the Wife of Bath than with Moll Flanders and that his critical study is organized around the assumption that Cary's range of characterization is limited in the sense that certain particularized types reappear. Cary is not an allegorist or "symbolic" writer as we usually think of such writers; nevertheless, one can say that his narrators combine the Blakean archetype with a Chaucerian force of particularization and personal gesture. There is no apparent submission of human depth to the universal or allegoric abstract in Cary's trilogies. There is also in common with Chaucer the device of the interior narrator.

In spite of his detachment from the six speakers of his two trilogies, Cary is most sympathetic to the visionary side of his artist-hero Gulley Jimson. This is not to say that Cary projects his spiritual body into Gulley's (although in certain ways he does this more than he admits), but it is to say that Gulley's vision of others in terms of Blakean archetypes is often taken over by Cary himself. A case in point is Sara Monday, whom Gulley associates with the female figure of Blake's poem "The Mental Traveller" and Cary himself describes in a very Blakean way as the eternal female or earth mother. And Gulley's assigning a "spectral" quality to Tom Wilcher is not so far from the total suggestion in *To Be a Pilgrim* that there is a good bit of Blake's unprolific reasoner in Wilcher. The creative joy of the artist is his vision of the eternal in the particular temporal. Both Gulley and Cary have that vision and are intimately related to each other through it, just as both attempt to re-create the world that Blake and Chaucer re-created out of and for their own times.

There is no question in my mind that Cary's two trilogies alone represent a major achievement in the novel, and I am certain that this belief will become common rather soon. It seems to me that Cary's earlier novels, although not as impressive as the six major works, are certainly deserving of more readers and critical comment than they are soon likely to get. There have been no American editions of *Aissa Saved,*

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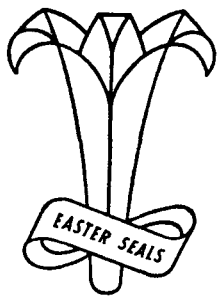
An American Visitor, *Castle Corner* (1938), and, until quite recently, *Charley is My Darling* (1940); and *The African Witch* has not appeared here since 1936. Among these alone, at least *The African Witch* is a very impressive performance approaching the quality of *Mister Johnson*, and a case can be made for excellence in all of the others. My own experience was to have read these novels in the shadow of what was and still may be a semi-official view of Cary's earlier work: that it was comprised of several failures or at best crude attempts of a man sadly determined to make himself a novelist by sheer force of will. What nonsense! Of course Joyce Cary taught himself to write, and it was difficult. Andrew Wright tells us of the many manuscripts (some still in existence, others destroyed by Cary) which Cary thought were not good enough to be published. It is also true that at least one of his novels, *A Fearful Joy*, is clearly, or so it seems to me, a failure. But too much has been made of Cary's perseverance, as if it somehow were doomed. The published work represents as a whole a considerable achievement indeed. Although there is steady progression in his career, there is nothing to be disdained, pitied or passed over. Cary's swan has its feathery form and its powerful swimming feet, the joy of intuition recaptured from knowledge.



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If You Don't Mind My Saying So . . . . .

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

When Ludwig Lewisohn suddenly quitted the *Nation* in 1924, Oswald Garrison Villard offered me the job, adding that no drama critic was any good for long and that they should all be shot at the end of five years. I remained in the post for twenty-eight years (no proof that I should have been permitted to do so); but the fact now comes to mind because with the present issue, I celebrate (if that is the word) the beginning of my sixth year in the SCHOLAR.

To save us all embarrassment, I shall now and again suggest to my present editors that if they have in mind a successor already champing at the bit I will gracefully consent to being put out to grass. But I warn mere readers that it will do them no good to write me that I have entertained them long enough. I shall have to hear it from the horse's mouth.

It is a staggering privilege to have reserved in advance several pages to fill with whatever one happens to want to fill them. Some teachers feel the same (although for some reason I never did) about the captives in a classroom. In fact, a Columbia colleague once exclaimed when he met me making my rather dejected way down the corridor as the summoning bell rang: "Don't you enjoy it? *I* never approach the door without a lift of the heart, and I say to myself, 'Thank God I have an audience.'" But an audience of readers is far better. One may imagine it as large and as eager as one pleases. The empty seats are invisible and so are the yawners in the back row. You may get a few nasty letters, but it is usually possible to imagine that the authors are no less ignorant and loutish than you want to believe. In class the inattentive and the cantankerous are so often very bright boys. Two such that I once had —I think in the same class—were Thomas Merton and Allen Ginsberg.

No one has ever asked me, "How *do* you keep it up year after year?" Or less politely, "How do you manage to get away with it?" But I once heard Franklin P. Adams, then the most popular columnist in the United States, answer the first of these questions, although nobody had asked him either. The secret, he said, was never to save up anything for future use. "Start doing that and you will soon dry up. Put in everything today and trust that something will turn up tomorrow." Heywood Broun used the same method, and he said also that he never worried if an individual column didn't seem to be up to standard. "Don't try to make that one better; you haven't time. Just hope the next will be."

In sixty-four months I have written only as many pieces as Broun would have written in less than one month and only as many words as he turned out in two or three. Hence neither his excuse nor Adams' recommendation will serve anyone who may be about to undertake a job something like mine. Three months is so long a time that one is sure to dry up and have to start all over again. Since you also have the same three whole months in which to prepare, your reader is likely to wonder why you have not been able to come up with something better in all that time. And if you tell him that you hope to be more interesting next quarter, he is likely to reply that it's a long time to wait.

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Consequently, I have done what I never did in my life before, namely kept a sort of notebook of what looked at the moment like promising notions to be reconsidered as the deadline loomed. A friend who was intimately associated with one of our foremost merchant princes almost equally renowned for his benefactions and his talent for realizing a profit told me that at one time this gentleman provided his secretary with a rubber stamp to be applied to every letter passed on to him. It read, "How can I make money out of this?"; and I am afraid I have got into the nasty habit of never reading a good sentence or hearing an interesting remark without applying my own rubber stamp, "Could it be used in the SCHOLAR?" Usually it couldn't, or the quarterly pieces would have been better than they have.

I am not as fertile as I thought I would be in tips to beginners, but I do have one more. Keep around a few daughters for harping purposes. If worst comes to worst, you will find that some pet aversion is always good for another paragraph or two.

You will also find, so experience has taught me, that even a casual reading of newspapers and magazines will keep you constantly supplied with new occasions for pet indignations. For example, I have received the announcement of a summer session at the University of Arizona and find that a "Workshop in Aviation Education" promises, among other goodies, "A two-day symposium on rockets, missiles, satellites and interplanetary space travel designed to up-date the teacher content-wise, and to relate the implications of these factors to public implications." I could not myself have invented so splendid an example of gobbledygook, and I feel justified in passing it on even though I have discussed the subject before.

As for celebrations of the brave new world present and to come, my notebook is clogged with them. In the Bulletin of the University of California, for instance, I read the following:

> Scientists on the Berkeley campus have conclusively demonstrated for the first time that tiny one-celled algae plants and bacteria, existing solely on human waste products, can provide enough oxygen and fresh water to enable man to live in space indefinitely.
>
> Such a system would in effect become a "miniature earth," the microscopic plants and bacteria—along with man—reproducing on a small scale the basic cycles of photosynthesis and oxidation, the chemical processes responsible for life on our planet.
>
> The only alternative to such biological control of space environments is either to carry great quantities of water and oxygen, or to utilize purely chemical and physical means of removing and regenerating waste materials so that their elements may be re-used.
>
> The men who are working with this problem are Clarence G. Colueke, Assistant Research Biologist, and William J. Oswald, Assistant Professor of Sanitary Engineering. A phase of their work just completed indicates that 30 or 40 gallons of algae and water per crew member are enough to provide a continuous source of fresh oxygen while removing exhaled carbon dioxide.
>
> At the same time, by a process already perfected by the two scientists for the treatment of earthbound sewage, solid and liquid waste materials can be converted by the algae and bacteria to water fresh enough to drink and protein-rich "algae pills" which conceivably could be used to provide a portion of the spaceman's daily protein requirement.
>
> The bacteria in the system convert organic waste materials and oxygen to carbon dioxide and water, while the algae use carbon dioxide and water to produce oxygen and algal growth. The end result of the total process is that human waste products are converted to water, oxygen and algae.

This may sound a good deal like the old scheme for producing cat fur commercially and at no cost: Feed the cats on rats, and the rats on the carcasses of the skinned cats. But the worst of it is that the Berkeley scheme will probably work, and I feel about the scientists much as Gibbon did about the clergy. He feared their virtues, not their vices; and I fear the competence, not the incompetence, of the technologists. Already the more enthusiastic are promising that when the population of the earth has reached many times what ordinary agriculture can support, then not merely space

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travelers but everybody will be fed on sewage-grown algae. If I express the fear that I wouldn't like that too well, they assure me that once the human race has been properly adjusted to the new condition it will be quite as happy with algae cake as it now is with beefsteak and ice cream. As Shaw's Bishop remarked, all biological necessities become decent in time.

Of course there won't be much privacy in that populous world, but we are already being adjusted into a proper contempt for it. One of my friends who lives in a small California community recently fought an ordinance forbidding hedges high enough to cut off patio gardens from public view. The proponents of the ordinance called all such hedges "spite fences." And when my friend protested that he didn't want to spite anyone, merely to get a little privacy, he met the bland reply, "Privacy! What are you ashamed of?"

I thought, to take another example of what casual reading will turn up, that I was being pleasantly extravagant when I remarked some time ago that what used to be called Plain Living and High Thinking had become antisocial conduct, according to the most widely current economic doctrine. Some of my acquaintances even went so far as to accuse me of deliberate misrepresentation. But these days it is hard to stay extravagant in statement, however easy it may be to buy extravagantly on credit. Almost the very words have been taken out of my mouth in a pamphlet called *Consumption for Prosperity*, sponsored by a long list of notables including Thurman Arnold and Walter Reuther. One section is headed "Deficient Consumption Reflects Deficient Public Responsibility." And that is certainly gobbledygook for "Plain Living (with or without High Thinking) is antisocial conduct."

As near as I can make it out the new theory of economics comes down to this: If *everybody* will only buy a shiny new automobile every year, then everybody *will be able* to buy a shiny new automobile every year. Even if this is true (and I suspect a catch somewhere), all you have got *is* a shiny new automobile. And I am not sure that this by itself guarantees a Good Life.

Even if you can read your own notes (which I frequently cannot), you will probably find all too often that what looked at the moment like a splendid germinal idea just refuses to germinate. You may still think it's a fine statement and obviously what the textbooks on composition call the "topic sentence," which begins a paragraph. But although you may have kept it for months, waiting for it to grow, it just doesn't.

The obvious solution is to call such infertile seeds *pensées* and to send them forth into the world as such. Others, from Pascal and La Rochefoucauld down to Valéry, have got away with it. But for some reason —I am not quite sure what it is—a *pensée* is more pretentious than an essay or even a tome. One risks a retort on the model of Rivarol's comment when he had heard the perfection of a certain famous eighteenth-century French couplet praised once too often: "Yes, it's a very fine couplet. *Mais il y a des longeurs.*"

Nevertheless this is, I think, the best opportunity I shall ever have to set forth a few on the pretense that they are not offered for their own sake but merely as examples of the sort of unusable notions a notebook gets cluttered with:

I know that it takes all sorts of people to make the world. But I sometimes think that the proportions are wrong.

She had a great deal on her mind, and there wasn't much room there.

Some people don't take advantage of all their talents. Others seem able to make use of even those they haven't got.

Silver-lining or all-evil-good-not-understood department: How neatly the two greatest threats to the future of the human race—overpopulation and the atom bomb —cancel each other out.

We have got beyond thinking that families should be as large as possible. But most people still assume that the population of their nation or state or town should grow as fast as it can be made to grow. Why not

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Planned Parenthood for nations and continents, as well as for households?

Wordsworth called it "getting and spending" and thought it wasted our powers. Modern economists have discovered that if you call it "production and distribution," it is all ye do on earth and all ye need to do.

Man is so inveterately a moral—or perhaps it would be safer to say a moralizing—animal that he will not be able to endure relativism for long.

The family cat smiles whenever he remembers that the scientific name of his species is *domesticus*.

Guess who is sponsoring a leaflet promoting *Outdoor Recreation*, which takes as its text

> One impulse from a vernal wood
> May teach you more of man,
> Of moral evil and of good,
> Than all the sages can.

Well (among others similarly connected) the sponsor is the secretary-treasurer of the Sporting Arms and Ammunition Manufacturers Association. Wordsworth, you know, never went out without a gun just in case he should meet a hare running races with himself and, like the lamb, bounding to the tabors' sound. A well-placed shot would put an end to all that nonsense.

Would you like to hear a funny dream I had? The scene was a beautiful seaside resort overcrowded with visitors. I was in the hotel lobby writing picture postcards. But they were not addressed to friends back home. They were all going to the other guests and the message on each was the same: "Having wonderful time. Wish you were not here."

(The advice of Franklin Adams notwithstanding, I shall save the rest for another occasion.)

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. . . . . *The Revolving Bookstand* . . . . . .

The Image of the Architect

WAYNE ANDREWS

The architect was not sent into this world to preach a sermon. His mission has always been to design a stage-set for his contemporaries. Disraeli, who was too profound to be intellectual, was well aware of this, and the architects who appear in his novels are charming and convincing. One of the most endearing of Disraeli's architects is Sir Carte Blanche, who strolls into *The Young Duke* at the very moment when the hero is filled with wonder and disgust at "those queer chambers which in England are called drawing-rooms."

Depressed by Hauteville House, the family mansion, "the Duke sent immediately for Sir Carte Blanche, the successor, in England, of Sir Christopher Wren. His Grace," Disraeli tells us, "communicated at the same time his misery and his grand views. Sir Carte was astonished with his Grace's knowledge, and sympathized with his Grace's feelings. He offered consolation and promised estimates. They came in due time. Hauteville House, in the drawing of the worthy knight, might have been mistaken for the Louvre. . . . The expense, though the estimate made a bold assault on the half million, was a mere trifle, *'considering.'* "

Disraeli was always ready to consider, and a little later he pleads offstage for Sir Carte's having exceeded the half million. "This was smashing work; but castles and palaces, particularly of the correctest kind, are not to be had for nothing."

Richard Neutra, the Austrian-born California architect who is the subject of a splendidly illustrated book (Willy Boesinger, editor: *Richard J. Neutra, 1950-1960: Buildings and Projects,* Praeger, $15.00) takes himself a trifle more seriously than Sir Carte. "The structural appears," we are told, "as sequel to the human, into which Neutra wishes to penetrate from the impressionistic, the physiognomic intuitive side and last but not least, from all the systematics of current physiological information. A failure herein would impair and imperil a project's 'biological Realism,' which is closest to Neutra's heart."

Neutra might have been puzzled by Sir Carte, who "was all solidity, solemnity, and correctness." He would have been more deeply perplexed by another of Disraeli's architects, Bijou de Milcolonnes, who "was all lightness, gaiety, and originality. Sir Carte," we are told, "was ever armed with the Parthenon, Palladio, and St. Peter's; Bijou de Milcolonnes laughed at the ancients, called Palladio and Michel barbarians of the middle ages, and had himself invented an order. Bijou was not so plausible as Sir Carte; but he was infinitely more entertaining. Far from being servile, he allowed no one to talk but himself, and made his fortune by his arrogant insolence."

Professor Giuseppe Samonà, the Italian who has been chosen to introduce a magnificent album of Wright's work (Frank Lloyd Wright: *Drawings for a Living Architecture,* Horizon Press, $35.00) would be equally certain to object to Bijou de Mil-

✪ WAYNE ANDREWS is an editor at Scribner's. His most recent book, *Architecture, Ambition and Americans,* is a history of American architecture. *Architecture in America,* a book of his architectural photographs, will be published this fall. Also scheduled for future publication are his biographies of Madame de Staël and Edith Wharton.

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410 pages. $7.50

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colonnes. For, judging from Samonà's prose, to be entertaining is to be at fault. "Now," he says, "it would be well to stress one decisive difference between Wright's architecture and that of Europe, a difference implicit in the continuity of matter in his works. It is the instant apprehensibility of matter in these works. Unlike European architecture, a Wright work does not require a sequential survey of its periphery in order to state its unity; time plays no role here."

There is the temptation to quote at greater length from Professor Samonà. But the time has come to ask whether it is absolutely necessary to be unintelligible when writing about architecture. The answer will be No, if you open Rudolf Wittkower's *Art and Architecture in Italy: 1600-1750* (Penguin Books, $12.50). Although Dr. Wittkower is one of the great scholars of the baroque period, he is quite willing to write in English.

Dr. Wittkower is a scholar who understands that an architect is a man who builds buildings for clients; and even if the tremendous panorama he is obliged to uncover in one volume does not give him much freedom to explore what is happening in the wings, he does not forget to give us sketches of the great patrons. Here, for example, is Cardinal Scipione Borghese, the favorite of Paul V: "One of the earliest admirers of Caravaggio . . . he discovered at a remarkably early period the genius of Bernini." And here, too, is Innocent X, who inspired the Piazza Navona. At his deathbed was the general of the Jesuit Order, Padre Oliva—"who was also on intimate terms with Bernini."

Dr. Wittkower's command of Italian history is so evident in the fleeting references he makes to the role of the papacy and to the Jesuit Order that more than one reader will wish the author had turned social historian to write a book on the baroque comparable to Burckhardt's *Die Kultur der Renaissance in Italien*. But this is asking the impossible. Dr. Wittkower's task as an art historian was to write a reference book for Nikolaus Pevsner's "Pelican History of Art." This is an assignment that he has carried out with remarkable success; if and when the Burckhardt of the twentieth century arrives to write the classic history of the baroque period, he will have to memorize Dr. Wittkower's findings before he sits down to his typewriter.

Students of the baroque will be grateful for the careful examination that the author makes of numerous relatively minor architects and painters; the general reader will be more likely to appreciate the portrait of Gianlorenzo Bernini, who emerges—with due consideration of Borromini, Guarini, Juvarra and Vittone—as the major architect of the period. His ambition was hardly ever thwarted; one of his rare failures was to convince Louis XIV that the Louvre should be his design. Over this failure Dr. Wittkower is easily consoled. "In Paris, Bernini's overpowering Louvre would have had no resonance; it would have cast an almost somber spell over the gaiety of the city."

While Bernini walked with popes and kings, William Buckland, the subject of the valuable study by Rosamund Randall Beirne and John H. Scarff (Maryland Historical Society, $7.50), was so inconspicuous a member of the American colonial society of the eighteenth century that only now, 205 years after this native of Oxfordshire came to the New World as an indentured servant, has any respectable account of his career appeared in print. For some time scholars have been aware that he was first apprenticed to Thomson Mason, brother of the George Mason who fought for the first ten amendments to the Constitution. And the readers of guidebooks have known that he was responsible for the interior of George Mason's "Gunston Hall," as well as for the Hammond-Harwood house in Annapolis. But this, as Mrs. Beirne and Mr. Scarff make plain, is only half the story. Even though Buckland will never rob Peter Harrison of Rhode Island of the distinction of being America's first architect, he was an unusually talented craftsman; and no student of American architecture will regret the trouble the authors

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have taken to trace his steps in Maryland and Virginia. The record books of Richmond County have been consulted; so have innumerable family papers and diaries. What is more, the tentative attributions of works by Buckland have been made with modesty and discretion. Quite possibly he *was* the man who designed "Whitehall," the villa of Horatio Sharpe near Annapolis, not to mention Muscoe Garnett's "Elmwood" and Robert Beverley's "Blandfield."

Of course the fact that anyone could bother about the career of a mere architect would have been beyond the comprehension of Buckland's patron, George Mason. In all of his correspondence the master of "Gunston Hall" is known to have made only one reference to his house; he had more important matters on his mind.

For all of the nostalgia of our antiquarians, the arts were seldom cultivated with enthusiasm in colonial America. This was as true in the North as it was in the South —with certain notable exceptions, such as the elegant Charlestonian Ralph Izard, who doted on the music of Johann Christian Bach, or the discriminating Philadelphian Dr. John Morgan, who came back from the Grand Tour with a volume of Vignola's works and a drawing by one of the Mansard family.

There is certainly something to be said about men like William Buckland and Peter Harrison, for they triumphed over the prudence of their fellow colonists and succeeded in becoming architects, that is, designers who prepared plans for others to erect. No such claim can be advanced for Robert May and Company, the firm which billed William Corbit of Odessa, Delaware, for his delightful but not exactly astonishing new house in 1774. Was there a designer in the firm? Or was the firm merely a number of carpenters banded together? These are questions that John A. H. Sweeney, associate curator of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, does his best to answer in an admirable monograph (*Grandeur on the Appoquinimink: The House of William Corbit at Odessa, Delaware*, University of Delaware Press, $6.00). Sweeney's failure to come up with a solution of the riddle must mean that there is none to be had. For the most careful research has been done by the author, who has had access to whatever family papers exist, and needs no lesson from anyone when it comes to exhausting historical archives.

Owner William Corbit, so Mr. Sweeney tells us, was a Quaker farmer's son who made good as a tanner in Philadelphia before setting up a tannery of his own in Cantwell's Bridge, as Odessa was known in the days when it was the center of a thriving trade in wheat. From all we know, he was a typical self-made man. At a later date he would have celebrated his rise in the world by risking an important percentage of his capital in a new house, for which there would have been an architect. But we must remember that extravagance was not generally admired in the colonies.

With no architects to call upon, the wealthier citizens of Delaware in the eighteenth century had no choice but to rely upon artisans who studied English handbooks. Mr. Sweeney guesses (probably correctly) that the inspiration for Corbit's house came from Abraham Swan's *Designs in Architecture*. And the reader may guess for himself that the very same book was in the hands of the carpenters who decorated the interior of the Samuel Powel house in Philadelphia.

It was only at the opening of the nineteenth century, when Washington, D. C. was being built up, that the architect came into his own in American life. An innocent librarian might imagine that Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard's *Historic Houses of George-Town & Washington City* (Dietz Press, $15.00) would be a valuable source of information in the development of the architectural profession. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth. The architect is the forgotten man in this grab bag of snippets, which might have been put together by a couple of retired society columnists for a small-town newspaper.

It would be painful to explore all of the

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inadequacies of *Historic Houses*: this is a book in which no anecdote is too trivial to be told in full. Some of the most trivial of all are printed in the chapter on the White House, in which the authors make no effort to conceal their indignation over the election of Thomas Jefferson. His administration, we are informed, was nothing less than a calamity. His "ruthless disregard of diplomatic amenities—and his studied violations of even the commonly accepted conventions of social intercourse, caused not only embarrassments but also situations that came dangerously near provoking serious international issues, to say nothing of the ill feeling engendered. Whether a really sincere preference for 'democratic' informality dictated his conduct, or whether he deliberately assumed a calculated boorishness to win proletarian plaudits . . . the result was the same."

Mr. Eberlein and Mr. Hubbard sympathize so profoundly with the British minister Anthony Merry, who came upon Jefferson *actually standing in slippers down at the heels*, that they forget to point out that the President was not only an architect in his own right but the most loyal patron of Benjamin Henry Latrobe, the greatest architect of the age. Perhaps it is just as well that the authors bring their account of the White House to a close with the Lincoln administration. They could scarcely have stomached Theodore Roosevelt, whose "studied violations" of the conventions included an invitation extended to Booker T. Washington. Incidentally, the White House was made over by McKim, Mead and White in Theodore Roosevelt's time, and any serious study of the structure would have to be based, at least in part, on the photographs in the McKim, Mead and White archives, taken just prior to the restoration.

It is safe to say that Charles Follen McKim and Stanford White would never have had the chance to restore the White House had they been as solemn as Neutra. "At the focal point of Richard Neutra's architecture is man," we are told at the very beginning of *Buildings and Projects*. One glance at such a sentence, and Roosevelt would have insisted on a good pillow fight with his children before settling down to reread *The Hunting of the Snark* or *The Wind in the Willows*.

But of course it is unfair to judge Neutra the architect by his adventures in prose. He is one of the most distinguished designers now alive in America, and it is a genuine misfortune that he has not had the opportunity to create an infinite number of airports and other buildings that would accurately represent the technological advances of our civilization. His impersonal elegance is undeniable, and may one day be considered more satisfying than the more heavily advertised achievements of Walter Gropius and Miës van der Rohe. Among the beautiful buildings in this handsomely illustrated monograph are Holiday House, an apartment hotel at Malibu Beach; Miramar Chapel for the United States Naval Station at La Jolla; and the Riviera Methodist Church at Redondo Beach.

To turn from Neutra to Wright is to meet the man who made the most glorious dreams of Sir Carte Blanche and Bijou de Milcolonnes come true. "I intend," Wright made plain, "to be the greatest architect of all time." Whether or not he succeeded, he designed something like 700 buildings, stage-sets for his contemporaries from Tokyo to Tennessee. And although he was occasionally guilty of preaching a sermon, it was always for a purpose that Sir Carte and Bijou would have approved.

Luxuries, Wright was fond of saying, are the necessities of life. Despite its price, the album produced by the Horizon Press is no luxury item. It is an absolute necessity for anyone who cares to study the renderings of the architect who came so delightfully close to being as great as he himself allowed. Here are drawings of the Coonley house (recently desecrated by real estate operators), of the Larkin Building (destroyed for no good reason), of the Midway Gardens (which perished 37 years ago), and of classics that have survived, such as Unity Church and Falling Water. Here, too, are drawings of the marvels that he was not permitted to

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bring to completion, such as the Masieri monument in Venice, the Bailleres house at Acapulco, and the Huntington Hartford Country Club.

Although it is regrettable that the introduction was not entrusted to an American architect who understood Wright's principles (Harwell Hamilton Harris would have been an excellent choice), *Drawings for a Living Architecture* is a superb memorial to the career of an artist who worked his will on the American people. Wright always understood, as did no one else, that a wistful artist is no artist at all.

Brief Comments

THE ADAMS-JEFFERSON LETTERS: The Complete Correspondence Between Thomas Jefferson and Abigail and John Adams. Edited by Lester J. Cappon. Two volumes. Published for The Institute of Early American History and Culture at Williamsburg, Virginia, by the *University of North Carolina Press. $12.50.*

One of the great achievements of Adams and Jefferson was the warm and spirited correspondence they carried on for half a century. Unlike in many ways, they were profoundly united in their devotion to America, their love of learning, and the restless energy of their inquiring minds; and their correspondence, resumed in 1812 after alienation by partisan bitterness, is one of friendship's triumphs. Each man was "a Bank" in which the other had accounts, and the intellectual drafts they drew on each other ranged widely over human thought and experience. If Jefferson's interests were more varied, Adams' language was racier and sharper: who but he could have described Napoleon as "a tremendous waterspout"?

Brought together now for the first time, the Adams-Jefferson correspondence (with the letters of Abigail Adams and Jefferson, which are an integral part of it) is not simply a monument to the writers or a major source for the history of the American intellect; it is a feast for modern readers. The two men comment on current events, offer commentaries on their reading (Hume's history of England, Jefferson thought, had "done more to sap the free principles of the English constitution than the largest standing army"), discuss such questions as the nature and purpose of grief. Jefferson reports on the progress of his university, Adams proudly on his son. Repeatedly their thoughts turned to religion and religious liberty: "The Ten Commandments and The Sermon on the Mount," Adams wrote, "contain my Religion"; and on freedom of inquiry he had no doubts: "Books that cannot bear examination certainly ought not to be established as divine inspiration by penal laws."

There are 390 letters in all, half of them (perhaps those of greatest general interest) belonging to the period of 1812-26. The editor has wisely divided them into chronological chapters, with a short introduction to each chapter. That historians and biographers will consult these scholarly volumes goes without saying; but they should appeal no less to those many informed and intelligent persons who enjoy informed and intelligent conversation. For that is what the Adams-Jefferson letters are—a dialogue of great feeling, depth and variety; and one can open them anywhere, as one can drop into the house of a wise friend, and be sure of ten minutes or an hour of refreshing and instructive talk.

WHITFIELD J. BELL, JR.

1859: ENTERING AN AGE OF CRISIS. Edited by Philip Appleman, William A. Madden and Michael Wolf. *Indiana University Press. $6.75.*

The year of *The Origin of Species* was also that of Mill *On Liberty*, the *Rubáiyát*, four *Idylls of the King*, *Adam Bede* and *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*, among less memorable works. To find the common denominator for the science, political theory, poetry, social realism, theology and art criticism of an era requires something beyond the intensive study of any single fraction;

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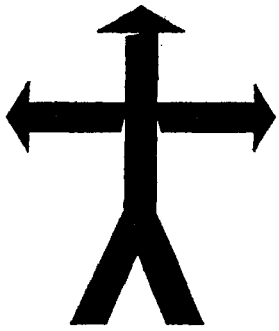

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and the lucky editors of *1859: Entering an Age of Crisis* have managed to entrap a good bit of this something extra.

The crisis that most of their thirteen essayists perceive was the opening of what is sometimes known now as the age of anxiety. Beginning about a century ago everything suddenly seemed less simple than it had either to the romantic poets or to the early disciples of science and progress, and the poets of mid-century were reacting to a crisis of doubt and faith even before the scientists of the time had made quite plain the new causes for doubt. Politically the reduction of inequality could be seen as part of a divine evolutionary purpose—but what did mass consumership mean for education? For art? For journalism? And for religion? By diving straight into one single year the composers of this volume have treated some of the responses to these then novel questions with admirable specificity.

PRISCILLA ROBERTSON

THE END OF AMERICAN INNOCENCE: A Study of the First Years of Our Own Time, 1912-1917. By Henry F. May. *Knopf. $5.75.*

The essential argument of this important essay in cultural history opens with the generally accepted proposition that America underwent something like a cultural revolution during the first half of the twentieth century, probably changing from the old order to the new at the end of World War I. Mr. May accepts this proposition but holds that a close look at the period immediately before the war shows that below the almost intolerable placidity of the surface were the beginnings of the later revolution.

Rebels of these earlier years who opposed the dominant conservative acceptance of absolute moral values, progress and "culture" exhibited such distinguishing qualities as exuberant innovation, cheerful mysticism and insistent spontaneity. The sharper radical rebellion of postwar years was more complex, less optimistic and less assured.

Mr. May's attempted synthesis is a difficult one, depending upon the successful use of a variety of resources, especially literary periodicals. One may have reservations about many of his wide generalizations, summary judgments and metaphors serving in place of logic yet believe that this is a much needed study, at once lively and serious, rich in detail and filled with provocative interpretations.

GUY A. CARDWELL

SIX ALLIES AND A NEUTRAL. By Lloyd A. Free, with an Introduction by Hadley Cantril. *Free Press. $5.00.*

This is a study of the opinions, attitudes and subjective political universes of decision-makers in the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, Italy, Japan and India. Specifically, this book by the Director of the Institute for International Social Research offers a report on a pioneer research project in the course of which approximately one hundred representative parliamentarians in each of these countries were interviewed, and the findings thus obtained were further refined by additional intensive discussions with other persons of a governmental, official or elite character. The result is an analytical presentation, by meaningful categories, of a range of psychosocial international outlooks influencing and explaining foreign policy thinking in these countries within the context of the early 1958 cold war situation.

The report, meticulous in methodology and sober in interpretation, makes several contributions to the factor-awareness in international relations: (1) it underlines the extent to which foreign policy is an extension of internally experienced, developed and perceived attitudinal interests; (2) it reminds that it is not "nations" or "peoples," but "individual human beings who at any given time initiate, influence, support, oppose, decide, implement or impede the foreign policies of their respective governments," and that, therefore, psychosocial dynamics are an *essential* approach to their understanding and analysis; (3) it offers, as of 1958, a wealth of pertinent specific data on some of the major issues of the cold war; and (4) it represents, in social science terms, a formulation of technique and scope

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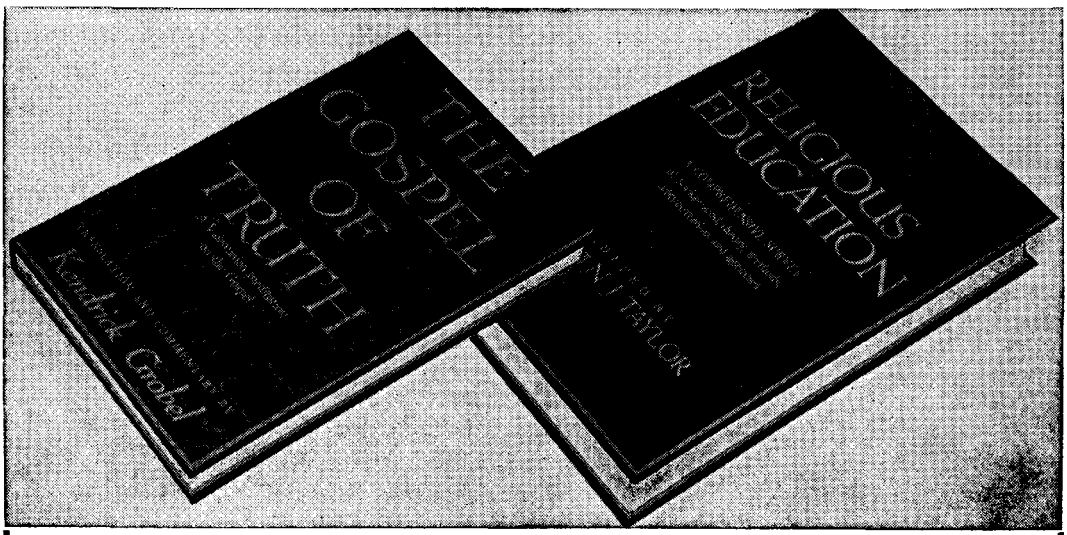

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which, if further refined and used periodically, will offer a sensitive tool for gauging predictively longer-term foreign policy postures.

This is a serious and responsible study. It deserves serious and responsible attention.

MICHAEL J. FLACK

THE GREAT AMERICAN ARTISTS SERIES: *Winslow Homer*, by Lloyd Goodrich; *Thomas Eakins*, by Fairfield Porter; *Albert P. Ryder*, by Lloyd Goodrich; *Willem de Kooning*, by Thomas B. Hess; *Stuart Davis*, by E. C. Goossen; *Jackson Pollock*, by Frank O'Hara. *Braziller*. Hard cover, *$3.95*; paperback, *$1.50*.

With the publication of this group of books, a truly comprehensive series of monographs on American artists is inaugurated. Three nineteenth-century and three twentieth-century painters have been selected for the initial presentation. Outstandingly important in their own rights, each also represents a significant achievement in the development of American painting. In addition, for de Kooning and Pollock, these are the first monographs published in book form.

Each volume has a short text, chronology, selected bibliography and index. All are generously illustrated, containing between 77 and 157 plates, a number of which are in color. In a field where the necessary illustrations have made the cost of books almost prohibitive, the modest prices here are noteworthy.

The best of these studies consider the genesis, development and characteristics of the artist's work. The essay by Lloyd Goodrich on Ryder is perceptively written and the most satisfying of the nineteenth-century trio, while the analysis by Thomas Hess of de Kooning's art and his working methods is an outstanding contribution to a knowledge of twentieth-century painting. The other texts frequently tend to lack focus and become involved in needless polemics. Often, too, full use has not been made of the abundant illustrations.

All these books are eminently useful for visual, chronological and bibliographical reference. One hopes that the volumes to follow will have more consistently thorough and judicious texts as well.

PATRICIA MCGRAW PANCOAST

ATHENS IN THE AGE OF PERICLES. By Charles Alexander Robinson, Jr. *University of Oklahoma Press. $2.75*.

This, the first volume in the series "The Centers of Civilization," is a popularly written appraisal of Athenian culture by one of our foremost historians of ancient Greece. Less urbane than C. M. Bowra's *The Greek Experience* and less doctrinaire than A. J. Toynbee's *Hellenism*, it gives a concise account of the ideals and actual living conditions of Athens.

The high level of Athenian culture was due, Robinson says, partly to the traditional avoidance of racial hatred, the zest for experimentation and competition, and the ability to compromise differences; but especially important were the confidence and enthusiasm of the working-class citizens because they shared in creating and enjoying that culture. Misuse of imperial power caused Athens' downfall.

The book is most convincing in its skillful interweaving of political, social and economic material; it is least effective in analyzing the art and philosophy. The final chapter indicates the political and religious inadequacy of the Greek city-states. A large part of the 159 pages is given over to quotations from Greek writers; doubtless Thucydides deserves the 47 pages allotted to him; but it seems difficult to justify, in a study of Periclean Athens, all of the 31 pages from Plato's *Symposium* and *Republic*.

WALTER R. AGARD

THE STONES OF FLORENCE. By Mary McCarthy. *Harcourt, Brace. $15.00*.

Mary McCarthy has done it again: she has turned out another most readable and delightful book. In this case her lively text and magnificent illustrations, largely from photographs by Evelyn Hofer, provide us with a total picture of Florence. The book starts off ingeniously with a sketch of the present-day city; then it takes us back to

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trace the beginnings and the historical development; next it concentrates on the vicissitudes and personalities of the period of Florentine greatness; finally it returns us to contemporary Florence.

To those—that is, nearly one hundred per cent of us—who will not, or cannot, read the bulky historical works of Davidsohn and others (upon which Miss McCarthy's book draws), this book opens up a fascinating vista of the varied and changing scene presented by the principal locus of European culture during the Renaissance period, when the foundations of the modern world were being laid. Although the author has not hesitated to mix fiction with fact, although she is herself occasionally confused (as when the Oratorio of the Misericordia is metamorphosed into the Bigallo), and although her sporadic lapses into art criticism may be very amateurish (for example, Michelangelo's reclining figures of the times of day on the Medici tombs are dismissed as "somewhat rubbery"), she has succeeded in formulating a just and well-proportioned conception of Florence and in conveying it in writing which is agile, entertaining and, above all, gay.

JOHN SHAPLEY

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF LOVE. By Morton M. Hunt. *Knopf. $5.95.*

The subject matter of this book is more limited than its title suggests: its scope, like most of our intellectual horizons, is confined to Western civilization. Love in the Western world, as Mr. Hunt portrays it, is always the same and always different, for the attitudes and impressions of the people of one period, even when opposed to those of that immediately preceding it, echo the views of a still earlier period. The prudery of a Victorian might be found in a Lacedaemonian bride, and the open attitude of the modern woman toward her sex life can be compared—surprisingly enough—with the frankness of the early Puritan wife. The lover seeking a mixture of the intellectual and erotic in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. could find in a hetaera, a demimondaine of the period, a woman both sexually exciting and intellectually stimulating; in the second to sixth centuries of the Christian era, he could have found a sensual and spiritual accord among the agapetae, the spiritual wives or sisters who lived in household intimacy with many of the clergy, although they were supposedly chaste in the strictest sense. Early ascetic Christianity took love and sex to be antithetical; later the Renaissance saw woman either in the image of Blessed Virgin or sinful Eve. As for the modern emancipation of woman, many of the rights she has gained, except in her political and business life, are no more than those she enjoyed under the later Roman Republic.

No theme is more common to literature than that of love, but few authors have so scrupulously traced its social history as has this one. The scholarly qualities of this book never impede the felicity of its style, which is perfectly candid yet in mature good taste throughout.

RONALD FRAZEE

NATURE AND MAN'S FATE. By Garrett Hardin. *Rinehart. $6.00.*

Nineteen fifty-nine, centenary of *The Origin of Species*, saw the shelves swell with new Darwinian books and articles depicting the man, assessing the theory and its impact, seeking the implications. On each count but the last, Garrett Hardin's book stands as one of the best.

There is a perceptive portrait of that benign neurasthenic Victorian whose publication in 1859 of a single work rocked the foundations of theology and science. In skillfully nontechnical language, Hardin elucidates the position of present-day genetics regarding the role in evolution and human biology of diploidy (pairing of chromosomes), mutation, bisexual reproduction, radiation, natural selection and nature's canny device of the recessive gene.

Much of the book is a quest for meanings. That a gifted expositor with a topical grasp of genetics should sit so close to the window of his own exclusive pandect is somehow unsettling. Monotheistic worship of the god *gene* is orthodox biology, and Hardin is

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among the devout. Hewing to the classical line, he sees competition and struggle at the core of all organic and psychological change; he appears insensate or indifferent to the role of the recurring conscience in man's latter-day development. Such qualities as aspiration and forbearance are ephemera to Dr. Hardin, or at best, subtly disguised weapons of struggle.

Hovering over the book from title to conclusion is the question "Whither Mankind?" Again from the viewpoint of genetics, Hardin suggests, among other provocative views, that the politically compulsive One-World aim is fraught with mischief and loaded with the seeds of calamity.

Statesmen, sociologists, birth control controversialists, and others professionally concerned with the present and future state of the race will find this book a valuable board against which to sound their ideas.

PAUL A. ZAHL

THE OCEAN OF AIR. By David I. Blumenstock. *Rutgers University Press. $6.75.*

David Blumenstock has written a very personal book about the ocean of air around us. Since the title and theme seem to invite the comparison with Rachel Carson's classic, we need not hesitate in accepting the invitation; in the comparison we find that author Blumenstock comes off very well indeed. While he unrolls the panoramic view of "his" ocean of air, he shows the rare gift of the storyteller who entertains with facts, not fiction, yet leaves us spellbound.

While it is doubtful that anyone knowledgable in a given discipline will learn anything new or startling about that branch of science, it is not the book's purpose to be a research tool for postgraduates. Yet the meteorologist will read it, will search for scientific accuracy and will find it. In appendiced notes and ample literature references are recorded the significant contributions to the knowledge in the field.

But do not let me mislead you. Blumenstock has not written a textbook nor has he written a novel. It is the tale of man's environment, our own atmosphere, that he spins and fascinates us with, and fascinate he does. Pick up this travelogue through time and space, follow him on his journey, and you will enjoy a sunset over the desert, greet the coming of spring from the Eiffel Tower, relive D-Day, flee the terror of a nuclear explosion, join a tribal hunting party, and pilot a jet plane through towering clouds.

It is the author's ocean of air no more; it has become yours.

GERHARD SCHILLING

CONTROLS FOR OUTER SPACE AND THE ANTARCTIC ANALOGY. By Philip C. Jessup and Howard J. Taubenfeld. *Columbia University Press. $6.00.*

If a book like this had to be written, there was wisdom in the choice of authors. But that "if" is a big one. There is high scholarship here. But to what avail? For what purpose still another compendium on "international controls in retrospect"? For what purpose still another summary of the views of the outspoken on space law? For what purpose still another brief for "organized multinational action in the common interest . . . as man moves on into outer space"?

Of course, the time has come for the first generation of space lawyers to make themselves heard, and "this is a time of exploration and the explorations need not be confined to the realms of the natural sciences." But the problem is not one of getting the lawyers to speak out, assuming that this is ever a problem. The problem is to have them speak out on *space-oriented space law.* For earth-oriented scholarship and earth-oriented advocacy—even the outstanding scholarship and advocacy of these so able lawyer-authors—cannot really provide the guides needed for the *Controls for Outer Space.*

The only thing certain about the future code of space law is its inherent uncertainty. The laws of space will be flexible—predicated upon the mutable. Precedents should be studied, not for the principles they expound, but to develop a philosophy for their avoidance. But that would be another book.

ALBERT P. BLAUSTEIN

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EDUCATION IN THE AGE OF SCIENCE. Edited by Brand Blanshard. *Basic. $4.50.*

As might be expected, Brand Blanshard has done a remarkable job of editing a great variety of information. The book is a record of thirty participants by way of prepared papers and/or verbatim records of around-the-table discussions. The participants represent every essential aspect of American education, and the book is their appraisal of our total educational system.

The soft spots are attacked with vigor, and credit is given for the areas of strength. Perhaps the most surprising and reassuring characteristic of the book is that although there is great divergence of opinions, yet in the end there is an encouraging agreement concerning the principal changes that must be made for the long future. Humanists, scientists, administrators, professional educators, all seem to come near to agreement that fundamentally and basically the pursuit of wisdom is still a single enterprise.

I have not seen any book on education in a long time that examines in so few pages and yet with such thoroughness the major problems that face education at all levels from the secondary through the graduate. This should be on the reading table of every thoughtful administrator as well as others interested in education.

LAURENCE M. GOULD

THE CASE FOR BASIC EDUCATION: A Program of Aims for Public Schools. Edited by James D. Koerner. *Atlantic-Little, Brown. $4.00.*

In recent years the American high schools have accepted many new responsibilities, some of which are not strictly educational in nature but may more properly be regarded as custodial, therapeutic or recreational. The Council for Basic Education is made up of people who are alarmed by this trend and hope to restore an academic and intellectual emphasis in the schools.

This book, which is the Council's effort to state and defend its position, is the work of a group of able scholars wrestling with a problem of utmost importance to the nation. Each author defends his own academic discipline well, and there are flashes of wisdom; yet the book, as a whole, is disappointing. Perhaps such a book—inevitably forensic in nature—can never be the work of a committee. The case for basic education must rest upon a clear and consistent philosophy of education that includes a defensible view of the nature of the teaching-learning process—a subject that the Council has been prone to ignore or try to laugh away. When the case is stated forcefully and well it will probably be the work of an individual, one who looks beyond his own academic discipline and sees the problem of education in all its varied dimensions.

In the opening chapter Clifton Fadiman tries to set the tone for the book by suggesting that the roots of basic education may be found in the Aristotelian view of man as the rational animal that desires to know. This is a good start toward a philosophy, but some of the other authors ignore it or turn against it, and it does not reappear in the concluding chapter. The result is that the book becomes not a statement of the case for basic education, but the case for a list of subjects, each separately defended.

PAUL WOODRING

BOSWELL FOR THE DEFENCE, 1769-1774. Edited by William K. Wimsatt, Jr., and Frederick A. Pottle. *McGraw-Hill. $6.95.*

Although it be heresy, if not downright blasphemy, to say so, it may be possible to get too much, even of Boswell. This, the sixth volume in the popular edition of his letters and journals, carries the work to 1774; there are still twenty-one years to go.

The pace has quickened a little. The five preceding volumes covered less than two years each; this one covers five. Part of the quickening, however, is illusory: the Hebrides journal, chronologically a part of the present installment, is reserved for separate treatment. What remains includes three fully written journals—the London visits of 1772 and 1773, and an Edinburgh journal of 1774—supported by the usual miscellany of rough notes and of letters sent and received.

This is Boswell at his summit: married,

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and thus far faithful to his "valuable spouse"; prospering moderately in his profession; successful in his dearest wish when he at last shows Scotland to Johnson, and Johnson to Scotland. But some signs bode future ill. The bouts of drunkenness are increasing; he becomes too involved emotionally in his heroic efforts to save a client sentenced to death for stealing sheep. This episode, which occupies nearly a third of the volume and supplies its title, is highly creditable to Boswell, but it could have been told in fewer pages.

As always, the best bits relate to Johnson. Dining at General Oglethorpe's with Johnson and Goldsmith, Boswell "felt a completion of happiness. I just sat and hugged myself in my own mind." For the sake of touches like that, the reader forgives the editors for not pruning the excesses of Scots legal lingo elsewhere in the book.

DeLancey Ferguson

THE IDEA OF POETRY IN FRANCE: From Houdar De La Motte to Baudelaire. By Margaret Gilman. *Harvard University Press. $6.00.*

This posthumous book describes and discusses the evolution which metamorphosed the idea of poetry in France from that held by Boileau's followers in the early eighteenth century, to that best exemplified in Baudelaire's poems and critical writings in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Based on an exhaustive investigation of theoretical pronouncements on poetry, it is particularly original when dealing with little-known writers of the eighteenth century; yet it successfully manages in never being trite or dull, even in chapters devoted to traditionally better explored topics: Diderot, romanticism, Baudelaire, et cetera.

Well aware of the dangers of dissociating poetic theory and practice, the late Margaret Gilman, despite her title, did not limit herself to examining the former. Anyone interested, for instance, in the rarely examined poetry of the eighteenth century will henceforth have to refer to her study. Moreover, the impact of nineteenth-century French poetics and poetry on European and American poets is such as to guarantee that this book will also prove valuable to literary scholars in fields other than French. They will find the author remarkably well informed on English theory and practice of poetry, and, although less so on German writings, never in any sense nearsighted or provincial.

Despite its considerable range and scope, this study is written with modesty and simplicity. Although never shallow or commonplace, it always remains clear and elegant. Altogether it is a most unusually good book, well worthy of the Christian Gauss Award, posthumously bestowed for the first time.

Georges May

FOUR POETS ON POETRY. Edited and with an Introduction by Don Cameron Allen. *Johns Hopkins Press. $2.95.*

This volume presents the Trumbull lectures on poetry delivered at the Johns Hopkins Poetry Festival in November, 1958, by four poets.

Don Cameron Allen's lengthy Introduction, the fifth essay of the book, after a lame beginning finally systematically says much that is wise about the poet's "means of thought." Mark Van Doren brings a rich and synthesizing humanistic imagination to the poetry of Thomas Hardy. Marianne Moore writes a charming and penetrating appraisal of Dame Edith Sitwell. All add to the reader's appreciation; none contributes significantly to scholarship.

The provocative essays of the book are by Winters and Blackmur. Winters flays Shakespeare and flogs Donne to prove the superiority of Jonson. His severe rationalism and his delight in classification and distinctions enable him to be astute as he considers Shakespeare's sonnets but betray him to pedantry. With precision he moves among minutiae but sweeps to generalizations that are presumptuous.

R. P. Blackmur's essay on the poetry of Edwin Muir is worth this volume. Eloquence and taste join to create a moral vision in the finenesses of Blackmur's rhetoric. The irrational rationality of Winters

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seems an impertinence beside this totally engaged sensibility. Blackmur sees in Muir "poetry alive with the action of the mind"; I see in Blackmur prose charged with the maximum intensities of language.

The charm, wit and knowingness of Marianne Moore; the humanistic compassion and dignity of Mark Van Doren; the fully engaged taste and moral perception of R. P. Blackmur; and the fine edge of sight in Yvor Winters—these are not minor rewards.

ROBERT GAJDUSEK

PRETEXTS: Reflections on Literature and Morality. By André Gide. Selected, edited and introduced by Justin O'Brien. *Meridian Books. $5.00.*

Creative critics—that is, critics who were also poets like Baudelaire and Valéry, novelists like Thomas Mann, dramatists and philosophers like Sartre—tower above all others. They waste little time groping for a method and formulating prolegomena to a theory of literature. They do not, like reviewers, have to express an opinion on ephemeral works. They only write on what inspires them, and they write with a style of their own. Almost always, they explain or justify themselves while treating of others.

André Gide ranks among the great critical minds of twentieth-century France. From the twelve or fifteen volumes of criticism that he wrote, varied essays have been extracted, very ably translated, and succinctly and aptly preserved by the editor, Justin O'Brien. The essays devoted to individuals are unequal: neither Baudelaire nor Stendhal nor Gide's "bête noire," Barrès, are illuminated by the comments reprinted here. On Oscar Wilde, on Proust, Gide had more to say. It is to be regretted that he did not express himself more in detail on Valéry, whom he knew for fifty years and who always frightened him.

But the pages on classicism, on the notion of literary influence, on the theater and on nationalism and literature are excellent. Gide is cosmopolitan, urbane, but also profound and original. He stimulates. He stirs up thought and discussion over an idea. He used to say that criticism, broadly conceived, is what France has always excelled in. In an age which counted a score of critics of the first rank in France, Gide stood pre-eminent. Far too many ephemeral French novels are translated in America, and far too few works of criticism. Let us hope that this one, handsomely produced, will be followed by others.

HENRI PEYRE

HOWELLS: His Life and World. By Van Wyck Brooks. *Dutton. $5.00.*

Mr. Brooks is out of tune with the current Howells revival, if it is a revival. While academic critics discover profundity in Howells, he admires him for old-fashioned reasons. He does not analyze or psychologize or hunt symbols. With gentle affection he tells the familiar story of the rise from midwestern obscurity to the throne of Boston letters. He reminds us that Howells, even if he had not written novels, would be an imporant figure in our literary history. But Mr. Brooks also admires the novels. He values them for their good sense and, above all, for the clear image they give of the ephemeral, divine commonplace.

If that is why the novels are valuable, however, it is also why they are flat. Mr. Brooks does not say this. He maintains a tone of admiration. But he mentions Howells' relations with Henry James and Mark Twain often enough to invite comparisons. It is clear that Howells lacked their concentration, force and passion. He worked with an essentially slack theory of realism. Distrusting ideas, he trusted impressions. The moral seems to be that impressions are not enough. All in all, this bland and engaging book confirms our older idea of Howells as an observant, sensible, warm, honest but hardly profound novelist of manners.

LEO MARX

THE WATERBURY RECORD: More Vermont Memories. By R. L. Duffus. *Norton. $3.95.*

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continues the distinctive mixture of autobiography, informal short stories and social history begun in *Williamstown Branch*. The background is still Vermont, although as this record of something more than Rob Duffus' eighteenth year ends, the apprentice newspaperman is about to take a train for Stanford University, first stage of the productive, roundabout journey eventually to land him in West Forty-third Street and the editorial offices of the New York *Times*.

Little of what the boy-turning-man later learned or became is allowed to get between his young eyes and the people and events of 1906 here involved in his growing. Except for such rare possible slips of calendar as making his ghost-scared campers on Mount Mansfield sound nearer fourteen than eighteen, Mr. Duffus catches Waterbury's men, women and their wheeling days with a lens that is sharp and dust-free, however lovingly focused. The viewing through it ranges from hilarious to heartbreaking. Through it, as well, it's likely that we learn nearly as much of the shape, texture and flavor of the United States as a whole in the first decade of this century of hope and hazard as we do of Dr. Janes, Howard Bryant, the Conley brothers, Jennie and David Wilson, Susan Ransome, Will Carleton, Mae O'Reilly, Justin Moody, Mary Ann Davis and the other unforgettably human men and women of that day's Waterbury, Vermont.

CHARLES O'NEILL

FAULKNER IN THE UNIVERSITY: Conferences at the University of Virginia, 1957-1958. Edited by Frederick L. Gwynn and Joseph L. Blotner. *University of Virginia Press. $6.00.*

William Faulkner was writer-in-residence at the University of Virginia in 1957-1958. This was an event of the first cultural importance, one reported in *Time*; and, since it turns out Mr. Faulkner was followed around by 40,000 feet of tape, that event has now been transcribed, in part, in *Faulkner in the University*.

Mr. Faulkner did not teach a win-it-yourself course in the Nobel Prize. But he held, the editors say, " . . . thirty-seven group conferences and an uncounted number of individual office meetings with students and staff. . . ." So Faulkner worked hard, and, presumably, the best of what he had to say is set down. The novelist Faulkner is tough on the critic: ". . . to me he's a good deal like the minister—you don't need to listen to him unless you need him." Predictably, Faulkner tells the young writer not to need him. Faulkner's resistance to the critic seems akin to the stiff, but necessary, fight the analysand puts up with his analyst: the begrudgingly knowing patient denies—above all to himself—that he knows what the analyst *means*. Faulkner's occupational hostility is shared by, say, Robert Frost and Ernest Hemingway.

In this book, Faulkner's *persona* comes across as a man too smart to be afraid, too generous to live in ruins. Grandfather Faulkner hopes his own grandson will grow up in Virginia and ". . . that his mother and father will try to raise him without bigotry. . . . He can have a Confederate battleflag if he wants it but he shouldn't take it too seriously."

Finally, to an undergraduate who jawed about Popeye as "emblematic of evil in a materialistic society," Mr. Faulkner made the perfect answer: "No, he was to me another lost human being. He became a symbol of evil in modern society only by coincidence, but I was still writing about people, not about ideas, not about symbols." They come through together: the great writer, the great teacher.

HERBERT FEINSTEIN

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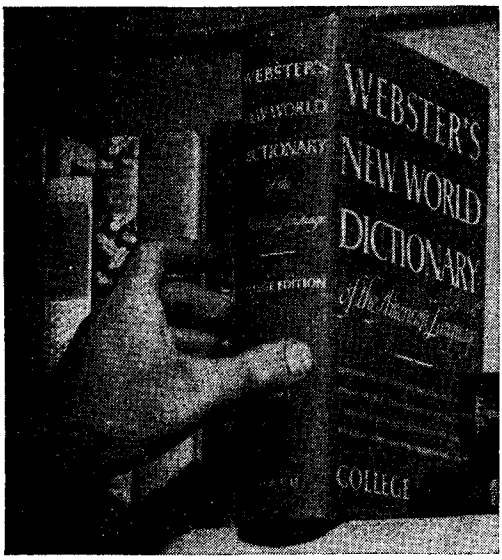

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CONtroversy

Mr. Krutch and the Scientific View

The past few years have witnessed a growing protest among intellectuals against the scientific philosophy and, in particular, against the scientific study of man. After a generation of carefree ascendance scientists suddenly find themselves under attack from a band of militant humanists who charge that science is costing man his humanity and giving him little that is worth while in return.

In the van of these crusaders strides Joseph Wood Krutch, the amiable but determined essayist who holds forth in each issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR and whose latest concerted volley of criticism, warning and complaint reaches us in the form of his recent book, *Human Nature and the Human Condition.* Mr. Krutch has such a disarmingly pleasant way of protesting, and is so obviously a man of warmth and good will, that it is difficult not to be charmed into agreement with everything he says. And the things he says, almost everyone seems to agree, are things that need saying.

In spite of the great scientific achievements that have characterized our era, discontent and anxiety are everywhere with us; so what could be more natural than to assume that science is the culprit responsible for our loss of confidence and peace of mind? In *Human Nature and the Human Condition,* Mr. Krutch states his case in the following terms:

> Today the prevailing opinion among even the moderately intelligent and instructed is based largely upon their understanding and misunderstanding of Darwin, of Marx, of Freud, and, more especially, of their popular expositors. From the teaching of these masters they conclude: (1) that man is an animal; (2) that animals originated mechanically as the result of a mechanical or chemical accident; (3) that "the struggle for existence" and "natural selection" have made man the kind of animal he is; (4) that once he became man, his evolving social institutions gave him his wants, convictions, and standards of value; and (5) that his consciousness is not the self-awareness of a unified, autonomous *persona* but only a secondary phenomenon which half reveals and half conceals a psychic nature partly determined by society, partly by the experiences and traumas to which his organism has been exposed.
>
> Thus though man has never before been so complacent about what he *has,* or so confident of his ability to *do* whatever he sets his mind upon, it is at the same time true that he never before accepted so low an estimate of what he *is.*

The concept of man as an animal is not in itself troubling to Mr. Krutch, who, as one of our leading nature writers, has convincingly shown us how admirable are many animal traits and how comforting and significant is the bond between natural man and his fellow creatures.

At the root of the trouble, apparently, is the positivist view that men and animals are composed essentially of chemical "matter," a view that Mr. Krutch holds to be not only harmful and dismaying in its effects but absurd in its assumptions. How can man, that fabulous, value-making, beauty-seeking, loving creature of conscious awareness be composed solely of "matter"?

But here Mr. Krutch reminds one of the policeman accosting a burglar who has just broken into his own house by mistake. The scientist has been caught with the goods

(*Continued on page 272*)

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CONtroversy

Shakespeare or Shaksper?

We were shocked by the malice of William T. Hastings' attack on us in the Autumn number of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR and amazed at the pedantic obscurantism which prompted it. *William Shaksper of Stratford* was not *Shakespeare.* (Variously spelled, the Stratford man's name always had a short *a.* His own spelling was "Shaksper.") The name "Shakespeare" was the pseudonym of Edward de Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford. Although we have established this truth by means of evidence, direct, documentary and circumstantial, besides an abundance implicit in the Works, we are included with the other "preachers of heresy" by Mr. Hastings, who speaks of "the worthlessness of what they write." We must find comfort in the precept, *Let them hate, provided that they fear.*

The story of Shakespeare and his Queen, and of the Elizabethan Renaissance, which together they inspired and dominated, is the most magnificent drama of our modern world. Yet Mr. Hastings and others like him scorn—or fear—even to acquaint themselves with the facts, little dreaming what a rich field is open to them for study and research.

Our books, articles and lectures on the subject have had a distinguished reception, *This Star of England* having been called by a scholar whose eminence even Mr. Hastings must recognize, "one of the great books of our time." Hardly, then, as Mr. Hastings puts it, "a tale told by an idiot . . . Signifying nothing."

We have never, *malgré* Mr. Hastings, "received the *coup de grâce*" from any scholar. We have been attacked—sneeringly, as now—by the vested interests, including certain professors of English, but not one point we have made has been refuted by any of them. The subconscious mind is a curious mechanism. Again and again Mr. Hastings seems to be accusing us of what he knows, deep down, are his own fallacies.

It is not *we* whose "state of mind seems fanatical." *We* are not defending an outworn dogma; we have engaged in literary and historical research quite as scholarly as that Mr. Hastings might pursue, if he were so inclined. As for our "party card"—this the unkindest cut of all—it is not *we* who strive to reduce the noble, cultured, sophisticated poet to a simple, proletarian status; not *we* who believe he was referred to by Robert Greene as "an upstart crow." The scholars have been singularly naïve. It is inconceivable that an Elizabethan playwright should have described the courtier-poet-scholar author of *Hamlet,* of the Promethean *King Lear,* of *Richard II,* of the courtly, dynastic (1-17) sonnets as "an upstart crow." Only a peer of England loved and protected by the Queen could have dramatized the deposition of an English monarch and gone free. (Elizabeth well knew the implications. "I am Richard; know ye not that?" she cried.) Sir John Hayward for his history of the usurper Henry IV spent years in the Tower under sentence

(*Continued on page 290*)

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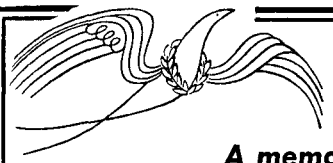

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(Continued from page 270)

but must be declared innocent, for he has found his "matter" to be energy, his atoms to be maddeningly elusive functions of probability. He has merely broken into his old uncertainty through the rear door of his new truth.

The basic "stuff" of the universe as it is represented by today's science is so paradoxically inscrutable in both form and behavior that we can, without doing violence to the facts, regard it as just about anything men have ever thought it to be—life-force, will, mind, idea, dream, spirit, God (or the mind of God), or, in the equally obscure terms of science, electricity, gravity, field or a "warpage" of space (whatever *that* is). However we conceive of it, and by whatever name we call it, *it is what it is,* essentially vital and virtually limitless in potential.

In *The Best of Two Worlds* Mr. Krutch sharply contrasted the animate and the inanimate and concluded that "the ultimate All is not one thing, but two." However, in *The Measure of Man,* pondering the meaning of the latest scientific discoveries, he conceded that "it is ridiculous for anyone to say that he is a materialist or a vitalist when we cannot know what the distinction between the two is unless we are sure, as now we are not, what matter may be capable of." In *The Great Chain of Life* he attempted to synthesize his vitalistic intuitions with his acceptance of scientific evidence by proposing "not that life be regarded as something separable from matter, but that life is something potential in matter just as, so we now know, matter is not something essentially different from energy but simply something which may become energy."

This stand is still resolutely at odds with the scientific view, which holds not that life is "potential" in matter, which means that matter must be mysteriously converted *into* life, but much more simply that matter-energy becomes organized into complex forms that are able to live. If matter is as gloriously enigmatic as Mr. Krutch agrees that it is, then what conceivable objection

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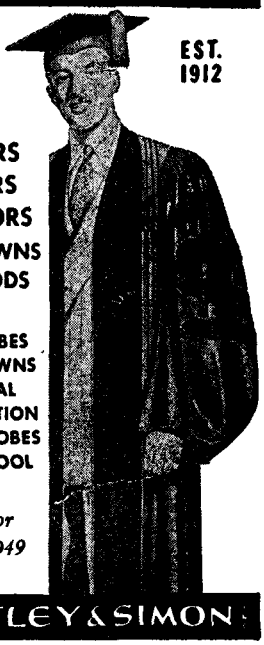

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can he have to regarding it as the basic substance of life?

And why, one also wonders, does he become so distressed over the theory of evolution? The gradual formation of the basic universal substance into more and more complex molecules, leading eventually to the living cell and then, over the millenia, to the multitude of living plants and animals which inhabit the earth, is a process that inspires in the thoughtful observer not disappointment and distaste, but sentiments of the utmost awe and reverence. Natural selection is not the harsh, automatic process that its Lamarckian critics make it out to be. "Matter-energy," having formed itself into heaven and earth long before it evolved into life, has *itself* been the mold, the guiding influence on the development of life. "Environment" is not cold and mechanical, it is merely what has come before. Being essentially vital, "matter-energy" seeks more and more complicated structure. This is not to say that it has "purpose" in any familiar sense, but it does seem willing to "try" almost anything. We call these "trials" mutations, and they occur, not because they are desired, nor on the other hand for the sake of utility, but purely as a result of basic energy and motility. There is some evidence to indicate that part of this very energy comes from "environment" in the form of cosmic rays.

Be that as it may, any mutations that are a handicap to survival are naturally not likely to survive. But this is quite different from saying that only those mutations survive that are a most direct help to survival. Obviously there are myriads of diverse ways of surviving, and it is not logical for Mr. Krutch to imply, as he does in *The Great Chain of Life* and elsewhere, that if survival were the criterion we would all be insects, because instinct is more useful for survival than intelligence or even consciousness. Diversification is possible, indeed necessary, for developing the maximum potential of nature. In *The Web of Life* ecologist John H. Storer gives a moving description of the interrelation and interdependence of all members of the

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animal, vegetable and mineral worlds. Where the scientific humanist sees only the horror and waste of a competitive "jungle," the humane scientist sees the beauty and necessity of a "balanced community."

Of course the ultimate catastrophe from Mr. Krutch's point of view is to be forced to admit that man is so completely enmeshed in the web of life that his emotions and moral impulses are seen to be related to the processes of evolution and cultural adaptation. To a dispassionate observer, however, the facts seem crystal clear. Consciousness, reason and intelligence *are* helpful to survival and can be explained rationally on the basis of natural selection, as can love between the sexes and maternal devotion to offspring. Organization and co-operation *do* mean survival for the group, which fact logically accounts for the development in all cultures, perhaps in human nature as well, of concepts such as "justice" and "virtue," and even such phenomena as martyrdom.

Naturally there are by-products of useful attributes that prove to have their disadvantages. The bee's sting, developed for his defense, gets him swatted by a man who would otherwise be his friend. Man's inquiring and aspiring mind, developed for its inventive and analytic qualities, has the capacity for asking questions and formulating answers that have doubtful survival value.

Perhaps we might share Mr. Krutch's qualms about accepting these theories as they relate to humanity on the word of the biologist alone. But when the anthropologist shows us the enormous variety of human cultural responses possible in adapting to different environments the evidence is irresistibly compelling.

To face these facts squarely and to accept what they tell us is, according to Mr. Krutch, to be finally damned. This is what he calls "relativism," the mortal sin that follows closely behind the heresies of positivism and evolutionism. Mr. Krutch has chosen gallantly to defend a neo-orthodox anthropocentrism that defies the increasingly overpowering volume of scientific evidence.

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He remains unimpressed by the findings of anthropology, for he will not equate the mores of "savages" with the "right reason" of educated philosophers. He will not bow to the findings of physics, chemistry and genetics because he intuitively *knows*, as great thinkers and artists have always known, that man just cannot be explained in terms of science.

Is it presumptuous to suggest that the humanist's problem may be principally a question of numbers? After all, the human brain, which is itself a product of evolution, is not equipped to think in terms of large numbers. We can readily visualize three apples, four, five, six, seven . . . but as the number increases we falter and a feeling of inadequacy, even dizziness, overcomes us. How are we, then, to imagine the possible creations of an infinite number of atomic particles active over a period of several billion years? How are we to conceive of a human being comprised of more than a thousand billion living cells, each cell with its tiny nucleus of forty-eight chromosomes, each chromosome containing thousands of genes, each gene consisting of about a million atoms?

How are we to visualize the potentialities of this organism in action? If we spend just five minutes watching a baby in his crib we see an infinite number of acts of learning, observing and experimenting. It seems like an eternity to us, and must certainly seem like one to the baby also. When we consider that the baby experiences tens of thousands of these eternities in his first year, we begin to get the faintest notion of the mathematics of living.

Inconceivable myriads of events in space-time are around us and within us. Even if each event were simply identifiable in scientific terms, the whole would overwhelm us. Like Pascal, as we probe into the abysses of the infinitely great and the infinitely small, we "tremble at the sight of these marvels." There are marvels and potentialities aplenty in the scientific world view without romantic philosophical embellishments.

However, if we were able to bludgeon

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Mr. Krutch with every scientific fact known, and with the many that will soon be discovered, he might retreat only to take his stand on new ground. Logical truth aside, this Jamesian pragmatist might say, it is *bad* for man to believe in positivism, evolutionism and relativism; therefore these are not *true* truths, that is, *good* truths. But as Mr. Krutch so clearly knew thirty years ago when he wrote *The Modern Temper*, we have come too far to start confusing the true with the pleasant. We cannot regain our intellectual virginity, or, to use one of mankind's most poignant metaphors, pretend that we have not tasted the fruit of knowledge.

What is even more to the point, we need not admit that as man discovers that his values are relative he must also assume that they are worthless. We may *choose to affirm* whatever we find congenial to our nature, recognizing that we were men long before we became scientists.

A man may study the biological origin of love, yet love none the less ardently. He may understand how religion grew out of the fear and ignorance of primitive peoples and flourished because of the survival value of its moral precepts, yet remain receptive to religious experience. He may accept the fact that the cosmos is indifferent to his values and still remain loyal to them; be aware that all is relative and yet at certain moments cry out that evil is absolute, that beauty is truth. He may know that his intuitions are suspect, yet prize them nevertheless; acknowledge that ultimately his will is not free, yet act as if it were. He has the need and, happily, the ability to juggle two world views, one objective, the other subjective, and he disregards either at his peril.

A most striking, and perhaps edifying, example of these two states of mind is found in the sexual urge. When this impulse is ascendant the objective intellect becomes a dim voice indeed, with little persuasive power. But a few instants after gratification a radical and mysterious change occurs, making cool detachment possible once again.

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Such alternate states of tension and release may hold the key to many a dispute between the humanistic and scientific philosophies. The "unclouded and attentive mind" that Descartes relied on so naïvely we now know to be only rarely attainable, comparable in a way with the states of ecstasy that lie at the other end of the human spectrum.

Instead of accepting and valuing both, or all, states of being, Mr. Krutch makes his choice exclusively for sublime tension. He believes "the accounts of the poets, novelists and playwrights to be truer" than those of the scientists. He objects to our increasing "knowledge about" things and wishes we had more "knowledge of," a direct awareness of "things in themselves."

About the quest for such sensual "knowledge," Santayana has made this wry comment: "Knowledge is not eating, and we cannot expect to devour and possess *what we mean.* Knowledge is recognition of something absent; it is a salutation, not an embrace."

And truly we have little reason to believe that the intuitive "embrace" of life is the answer to modern man's dilemma. What will Mr. Krutch have gained if he saves men from becoming robots only to see them turn into beatniks? After all, men have worshipped often at the altars of art, mysticism and sensuality without finding salvation. What new developments have occurred to induce them to turn their backs again on the hard world of "things" and "doing"?

Goethe's Faust, be it remembered, did not find his moment of ultimate fulfillment until he became a civil engineer building dikes. Kafka's K. hoped to achieve a state of grace by obtaining work as a land surveyor. Kafka, incidentally, was fond of repeating an anecdote concerning Gustave Flaubert, who in his later years happened to spend a day in the country with a bourgeois family wholly without intellectual or artistic pretensions. On his way home this great writer, who had sacrificed his life to his art, kept thinking of these simple people with their simple pleasures, and he muttered over and over, "*Ils sont dans le vrai!*"

To be *dans le vrai,* of course, is what we are all after, scientists as well as humanists, and if we have learned anything at all in our generations of searching it is that there is no single road to the good life, or to the bad life, for that matter. Certainly the cycle of human oscillation between opposite philosophical poles precedes by centuries the ascendance of science. And it has not been demonstrated, in spite of recent humanistic cries of alarm, that the scientific view of the universe is dehumanizing humanity, if anything is.

We can sympathize with Mr. Krutch's vexation and uneasiness over a handful of self-important scientists and would-be social manipulators. But in trying to attack these menaces at the roots, so to speak, he has put himself in the position of defending metaphysical propositions that are becoming daily more untenable.

These questions are, after all, no longer so much a matter of *fact* as they are a matter of *taste,* which is not to say that they are lacking in importance. In John Dewey's uniquely wise words, "Instead of there being no disputing about tastes, they are the one thing worth disputing about, if by 'dispute' is signified discussion involving reflective inquiry."

Mr. Krutch has much of interest and value to contribute to such "dispute," but his voice becomes muted each time he launches a fresh assault against what he must be beginning to realize are the windmills of scientific evidence.

SAMUEL C. FLORMAN
New York, New York

I am flattered that Mr. Florman seems to have read me so persistently and so carefully. His objections to what he has read strike me as being in part the result of genuine differences and in some part of misunderstanding.

In the second category (misunderstanding), I would put most of his first nine paragraphs. They end "If 'matter' is as

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gloriously enigmatic as Mr. Krutch agrees that it is, then what conceivable objection can he have to being composed directly of it?" The answer is that I have none whatsoever, and that I am inclined to believe the assumption that I am so made is the most probable (although perhaps not the only tenable) one. What I do object to (and I think Mr. Florman is here somewhat guilty) is the tendency to start with an admission of the mysterious and perhaps ineffable potentialities of matter as we are now trying to understand it, and then go on to deduce from the "material" nature of all living things conclusions that are compatible only with the old-fashioned conception of matter. If you are going to say that organisms are "machines" and that the living process is "chemical," then you must not go on to discuss these "machines" as though they were explicable in terms of Newtonian physics and this "chemical process" as though it were only a process recognized in pre-atomic chemistry. In fact "machine" and "chemistry" are now becoming as meaningless as "material," because since we don't know much about matter we also know little about mechanics or chemistry. The quotation given by Mr. Florman seems to me to summarize both my position and my reply to his objections to it.

Mr. Florman's second protest opens with "And why, one also wonders, does he become so distressed over the theory of evolution?" Here again the answer is that I am not at all distressed by the theory that man evolved from the animals and have said that I believed it to be as firmly established as circumstantial evidence can establish anything. What I do object to is the dogmatic statement that natural selection alone is responsible for everything that has taken place in the course of evolution. That it accounts for much I am sure, but no amount of evidence that this or that specific organ or adaptation can be explained in terms of natural selection can possibly prove that *everything* is so explained. At best the evidence against any other operating force must be negative. And to admit something

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else (even if no more than the intention and purpose of an evolved organism) makes what I regard as the staggering improbability of some of the things which have happened so much less staggering that, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, I prefer to believe that other causes may indeed have operated.

This brings me to the only point at which I feel that Mr. Florman is being unfair. He accuses me of "wishful thinking," or, as he puts it, "confusing the true with the pleasant." But is it any more true that the humanist wants to believe in the reality of mysteries than that the scientist wants to believe that everything is explicable. All of us—mystic, humanist, old-fashioned mechanist and new-fashioned materialist—are no doubt to some extent influenced by our desires. But it is the scientist who most often denies that he shares this human weakness.

Mr. Florman confesses that he sympathizes with my vexation "over a handful of self-important scientists and would-be social manipulators," but he accuses me of being lead from that into "defending metaphysical propositions that are becoming daily more untenable." It is indeed against the self-important and the would-be manipulators that I am most indignant, but they are certainly more than a mere handful and I am far from agreeing that what he calls my "metaphysical propositions" are becoming daily more untenable. In reply I would point out two things: first, physics has, within fifty years, grown so much less "positivistic" that its upper reaches have by now become indistinguishable from metaphysics; second, the refusal of the more orthodox scientists to have any truck with what they contemptuously call "metaphysics" has enabled them to lead us into our present impasse, because without what they call metaphysics one cannot make the ultimate value judgments that are necessary for a healthy civilization.

I would also point out that what Mr. Florman calls in his first paragraph "a growing protest among intellectuals against . . . the scientific study of man" emanates from many official scientists as well as from philosophers and humanists. Has he, I wonder, read the imposing and recent treatise, *The Way Things Are*, by Nobel prizeman P. W. Bridgman, certainly one of the most creative of living physicists? Reversing his previous position, Bridgman maintains that no "public" (his term) or positive science of man is possible for two reasons: (1) Science implies an observer and a thing observed, but in the supposed science of man the two are confounded; (2) Even though (and this is not certain) the future "state" of a mind or a civilization actually is determined by its present "state," the data necessary to describe that state are so enormous that we can never hope to collect them.

Relevant to the same objections to a "science of man" are two other recent statements. The first is from biologist N. J. Berrill of McGill University in *You and the Universe*: "If mind and spirit grow out of matter they are none the less what they have been thought to be." And the second statement comes from chemist James B. Conant's *Modern Science and Modern Man*: "The formulations that attempt to include spiritual values, modern physics, biology and cosmology within one total consistent scheme attempt, to my mind, too much. . . . My preferences would be for more adequate exploration of special limited areas of experience; one of these would include those experiences which can be ordered in terms of a system of spiritual values."

One of the simpler and more obvious conclusions to be drawn from Bridgman, Berrill and Conant is that you cannot profitably get rid of such "metaphysical terms" as *good, evil, moral, immoral, beautiful* and *ugly* by reducing them to such "scientific" concepts as *prevailing mores, social utility* and *survival value*. And it is precisely to the attempt to get rid of such concepts that I object.

If Mr. Florman accepts these statements as supporting his own attitude, then I will have to confess that I hardly see how we differ except on the specific question of the total adequacy of natural selection to explain evolution and (possibly) on the

(*Continued on page 290*)

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Scientific View: Continued from page 280

tactics to be used in combatting the "self-important scientists and would-be social manipulators." In connection with the second item, I must say that, in my opinion, it is the scientists, understood or misunderstood, who have furnished the weapons to the manipulators.

I would like to be permitted one more quotation. It is from Sir Julian Huxley, who certainly has never been accused of either scientific incompetence or a disposition to defend sentimental notions. In the introduction to *The Phenomenon of Man*, by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, he writes: "It might have been better to say that complexity of a sort is a necessary prerequisite for mental evolution rather than its cause. Some biologists, indeed, would claim that mind is generated solely by the complexification of certain types of organization, namely brains. However, such logic appears to me narrow. The brain alone is not responsible for mind, even though it is a necessary organ for its manifestation."

I have forgotten what positivist it was who said something like "the brain secretes thought just as the liver secretes bile." But it is a long way from that statement to Sir Julian's; and the long way is in the direction of what Mr. Florman calls "metaphysical propositions."

Sir Julian then goes on to say that he believes that mind, far from being the creation of the brain alone, is "generated by or in [please note the "in" as an alternative to "by"] sense organs, nerves, brains and muscles."

Now if (as seems to be universally admitted) man's mind enables him to intervene in evolution, and if mind can still exist in creatures too simple to have a brain, then why is it ridiculous to suppose that these dim minds also, to some extent, intervened? And if you do suppose that, then why the fanatical insistence that natural selection alone, operating blindly and through accident, is responsible for all evolution up to man?

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH
Tucson, Arizona

Shakespeare: Continued from page 271

of death. Only a man of high privilege and place could have dared characterize "the great Lord Burghley" as Polonius, as Shylock, Capulet, Pandarus, or could have *known* of his hypocrisy, greed, social ambition, toadying. When Hamlet says (IV. 3),

> A certain *convocation* of *politic worms* are e'en at him. Your *worm* is your only *emperor* for *diet*,

he alludes to Burghley's oft-repeated statement that he had been born during the session of the *Diet of Worms*, when Charles V had been proclaimed *Emperor*. We have revealed much of vital significance in our book which Mr. Hastings calls "portentous." (Another example of subconscious candor? It is indeed portentous for the Stratford case.)

Is it ignorance on his part, or disingenuousness, or is his realistic subconscious working again when Mr. Hastings accuses *us* of not understanding "Elizabethan conditions," since the shoe is demonstrably on the other foot? Walt Whitman declared that the chronicle plays were "written out of the fullest heat and pulse of feudalism" by "one of the wolfish earls or a born descendant and knower." Shakespeare wrote *in* and *of* a very different milieu from that of Marlowe, Jonson, Nashe, Greene and the rest, with license, unlike them, to say what he pleased. He himself describes the system of Degree, as Elizabethans saw it, in Ulysses' great speech (*Troilus and Cressida*: I.3), which begins, significantly for our case:

> Degree being vizarded,
> The unworthiest shows as fairly in the mask.

Every man writes what he is. Shaksper of Stratford was a penny-pinching grain-dealer whose parents and daughter could not sign their own names. His life naturally constitutes a "dilemma" for Mr. Hastings. The true Shakespeare, scion of a long line of feudal lords, nephew of the poets Surrey and Lord Sheffield, had a background of culture and rank: he was learned, traveled, experienced. His "degree" was indeed "vizarded": he was compelled to be anonymous; and the scholars have seen to it that

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for three hundred years "the unworthiest" has shown "as fairly in the mask." For "mask" it is, as we shall disclose.

Mr. Hastings asserts, "Our information about Shakespeare"—he means the Stratford man—"is unusually extensive for the time." Yet Saintsbury said:

> Almost all of the commonly received stuff of his life-story is shreds and patches of tradition, if not positive dream-work.

And Chambers wrote of his life in Stratford:

> After all the careful scrutiny of clues and the patient balancing of possibilities, the last word for a self-respecting scholarship is that of nescience.

"Our information" points to anything but nobility of mind or status. Shaksper sued his neighbors for small sums and had one imprisoned as surety for a trifling debt. He hoarded grain so ruthlessly in time of dearth that his hungry fellow-townsmen wished my Lord of Essex to come down and hang him at his own door. *Such things are known of him.* The rest is—"dream-work." No wonder Emerson protested that he could not "marry the life to the works."

Although the death of every poet and playwright of the time was marked by memorial verses and other public acclaim, the only notice of Shaksper's was a line in Dr. Hall's diary: "My father-in-law died yesterday." Camden's *Annals*, with seven thousand words devoted to the year 1616, makes no mention of Shaksper's (or Shakespeare's) death. Shakespeare is not named in Henslowe's comprehensive list of playwrights and actors whom he paid for their work, 1591-1609. (The Lord Great Chamberlain, of course, accepted no payment.) He does not figure in Alleyn's two-volume memoirs. Shaksper left not one manuscript or book in his ungrammatical will—ungrammatical, that is, before the scholars edited it. (The dramatist, Shakespeare, made use of two hundred figures in rhetoric.) He was never, in his lifetime, referred to as the author of anything. *How could this man have been called "Soul of the [Elizabethan] Age"?*

"We take Shakespeare for granted," says Mr. Hastings. It is the only way one *can* take Shaksper—as one does a religious dogma, rationalizing from an accepted premise. *Yet the works of Shakespeare are the highest achievement of the human spirit our civilization has produced.* Scholars admit this. Therefore he was surely a man of lofty character, a "great and complete man," the "Soul of the Age."

Mr. Hastings is mistaken about the dates of the plays. They had all been written and frequently revised by 1603, although emendations and additions were subsequently made in two of them by other hands. This fact has been established by contemporary and historical evidence. (The orthodox scholar Cairncross dates Shakespeare's *Hamlet* before August, 1589: actually it was presented at court at New Year's, 1584-85. He says the entire chronological structure of the plays must be revised, that nine histories were written before Shaksper was twenty-three, and *Pericles* earlier.) We cite our sources for the dates, and also innumerable topical allusions informing all the plays. These Mr. Hastings dismisses as "nonsense," thereby flouting Hamlet's assertion that the players were "the abstracts and brief chronicles of the time." (Incidentally, Hamlet's friends, Horatio and Francisco, are Oxford's cousins, Horatio and Francis Vere.) He seems unaware that Shakespeare wrote in the great tradition, that it was a common practice of Renaissance writers, as well as of the Greek, Latin and early English before them, to take their material from contemporary life, characterizing living persons in their works. (Oxford's early court-plays were merely masques, like Hamlet's Gonzago play. Philip of Spain complained to Mendoza that Elizabeth had him mimed in masques at court.) We recommend to Mr. Hastings' attention Hesiod, Aristophanes, Cynewulf, Juvenal, Horace, Petrarch, Ronsard, to name a few.

Mr. Hastings is in error about the "half-length bust" in Stratford, which he says dates "from before 1623." This figure with pen in hand was erected in 1748, replacing the original effigy (pictured by the anti-

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quarian, Dugdale), with hands resting upon a sack—presumably of grain.

The current strategy is to play down the Earl of Oxford by citing dozens of other "candidates" who have been put forward from time to time. Because Oxford had been almost completely expunged from the record by the Cecilian censorship (the "all-oblivious enmity" of Sonnet 55), persons who were unable to accept the miracle of a crude, unlettered Shakespeare hit upon Bacon, who was a scholar, lawyer, philosopher, with experience of the court; but Bacon was no poet. The others are negligible. Mr. Hastings does himself no credit when he says, "Oxford . . . is retained with greatly diminished glory." *Oxford was, as Ben Jonson knew, the "Star of Poets."*

There are certain facts fundamental to his recognition as Shakespeare:

(1) The poet-dramatist was forced to be anonymous. This is the heart of his mystery, the cause of the continued controversy: his name was concealed, "buried," as he says in Sonnet 72. He declared that he "to all the world must die" (81).

(2) The motive behind the anonymity was the suppression of the revelations in his plays and poems; a state secret was involved. It is the Cecils' authorized version of the Elizabethan era that historians still follow. In 1640, seventeen years after the First Folio was published, the author of *Wit's Recreation* wrote:

> Shake-speare, *we must be silent* in our praise,
> 'Cause our encomiums can but blast thy bays.

(3) Oxford had half a dozen reasons for choosing the name "Shakespeare" or "Shake-hyphen-speare," as it appeared on eighteen of the published quartos, on *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, and on the first edition of the Sonnets. As he was Her Majesty's champion spear-shaker on the jousting field, so he shook the spear of his wit, or his sword (words) in her service in the field of literature. (Benedick says, "[My wit] is in my scabbard." *Much Ado*: V.1.) He and Elizabeth were joint patrons of the English theater, as Pallas Athena, the *hasta-vibrans*, or spear-shaker, was of the Greek; her helmet conveyed invisibility, served as a *mask*. Edward de Vere's boyhood crest was a Lion Shaking a Spear. In 1578, in a Latin oration, Gabriel Harvey addressed the Earl thus: "Thine eyes flash fire, thy countenance shakes spears." (He also called him "the observed of all observers.")

The name "Shakespeare" was first published on *Venus and Adonis*, which the poet called "the first heir of my invention," that is, the first *product* of my *pen name*; for of course this elaborate poem was not even a Shakespeare's first literary work.

(4) Oxford had the personal characteristics and qualifications manifested by the supreme poet of the English race—that is, by Shakespeare. A contemporary, George Chapman, translator of Homer, described him as follows:

> I overtook, coming from Italy,
> In Germany, a great and famous Earl
> Of England; the most goodly fashion'd man
> I ever saw: from head to foot in form
> Rare and most absolute; he had a face
> Like one of the most ancient, honour'd Romans
> From whence his noblest family was deriv'd;
> He was besides of spirit passing great,
> Valiant, and learn'd, and liberal as the sun;
> Spoke and writ sweetly, or of learned subjects,
> Or of the discipline of public weals;
> And 'twas the Earl of Oxford.

Our critic, Mr. Hastings, might not have dismissed this man as "the arrogant and moody Earl" had he been constrained to read our work before devoting "a moment" to demolishing it.

(5) Contrary to the appraisal of those who endeavor to whittle him down to fit the specifications of their false premise, Shakespeare's classical learning was wide and comprehensive. An English scholar has remarked that he "made copious use of Latin works, but he transmuted them into something new and—English." The same could be said for the Greek (Bottom's dream, for example, paraphrases a passage in Empedocles), and he had an intimate acquaintance with writers of the Italian Renaissance, Ariosto, Castiglione, Bembo, Guazzo, as well as with the earlier Petrarch, Dante, Boccaccio, and, too, with the French D'Aubigné, Ronsard, Du Bartas, Du Bellay.

(6) Lord Chief Justice Campbell, who

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was also Lord Chancellor, wrote of Shakespeare's "deep and technical knowledge of the law" and of his easy familiarity with "some of the most abstruse proceedings in English jurisprudence." The Earl of Oxford spent three years at Gray's Inn and was a life-member of the two most important Law Committees of Parliament.

(7) Shakespeare's vocabulary and contribution to the language were phenomenal. Meiklejohn estimates his vocabulary at 21,000 words, with Milton's coming next at 7,000. He coined 5,000 words for the English language, many based upon Greek and Latin roots. De Vere received A.B. and M.A. degrees from Cambridge and Oxford. Shakespeare shows familiarity with horsemanship and the sports of the nobility, falconry, et cetera.

(8) Oxford's experience in theatrical production and acting, both at court and in private theaters, was wide and varied; he maintained two companies of actors. Feuillerat says he was "*le meilleur acteur comique de son temps.*" In 1586, when the Exchequer was low, Queen Eliabeth made him a grant of £1000 ($40,000) per annum under Privy Seal Warrant; and almost at once chronicle plays poured forth from his and his protégés' pens. "Now all the youth of England are on fire!" They volunteered with wild enthusiasm for the fight against Spain.

(9) Contemporary comment that escaped the censor reveals Oxford as a great man, beloved of the Queen, a distinguished patron of the arts, almost revered by the best writers of the day. As premier Earl of England, he "bore the canopy" (Sonnet 125) over Her Majesty at the celebration of the victory over the Armada. Because of his work in the theater, his "name receives a brand" (111). The sonnets reveal poignantly and lucidly the love of De Vere for the Fair Youth, his son, whose "fair name" he has "hallow'd" (108) and whom he "may not evermore acknowledge" (36).

James, on his accession, appointed the Earl of Oxford to the Privy Council.

(10) Both Shakespeare and Ben Jonson portray the Stratford Shaksper as a brash, ambitious "clown" (*As You Like It*: V.1; *Winter's Tale*: IV.2 and 3) and a "gull" (*Every Man In His Humour* and *Every Man Out of His Humour*). He is Gullio in the *Parnassus* plays, written by Cambridge sudents partly in a spirit of mockery and with only hearsay information.

The First Folio and the Brazen Hoax

In 1623, the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays was published, dedicated to the Earls of Pembroke and Montgomery, the latter a son-in-law of the Earl of Oxford. The high cost was presumably paid by certain members of the nobility referred to in the 1609 edition of *Troilus and Cressida* as "the grand possessors" of the manuscripts. There is a shallow, tongue-in-cheek pretense that the editors were two common actors, Heminge and Condell, but they were merely a blind for the impresario, Ben Jonson, and his former employer, Francis Bacon.

Of the two introductory letters, the first contains, besides legal terms, a paraphrase of Pliny's dedication of his *Natural History* to Vespasian (not translated into English until 1635), with echoes of Horace. Jonson has his stooges apologize for presenting their "Highnesses," Pembroke and Montgomery, with these "trifles" and call Shakespeare "so worthy a Friend and Fellow."

This and the ensuing sales letter are a public advertisement. In the second, Jonson tells "the Great Variety of Readers" that, if they do not "understand" this author, they must get "other of his Friends" who *can* to "lead" them, for "*such Readers we wish him*"—as Touchstone wished his "good wit seconded with the forward child Understanding." *Shakespeare's dramas are not fiction written in a vacuum.*

The frontispiece, the icon-like Droeshout engraving, pictures a stupid face under a mask, the edge of it extending around chin and cheek and up over the head, with a tab for an ear. Beneath the absurd collar there is no neck; the left sleeve is put in backwards. Jonson's verse, *To the Reader*, is correspondingly ambiguous. (Our italics added.)

> This *Figure*, that thou here seest put,
> It was for *gentle Shakespear* cut;

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Wherein the *Graver* had *a strife*
With Nature, to *outdo the life:*
O, could he but have drawn his Wit
As well in *Brass,* as he hath *hit*
His face, the Print would then surpass
All that was ever writ *in brass.*
But since he cannot, Reader, *Look*
Not on his Picture, but his Book.

This is Elizabethan double-talk. *Figure* meant *outline.* (Bacon wrote, "The figure of a Bell partaketh of the Pyramis." Definitions are from *Murray's Oxford English Dictionary on Historical Principles.*) *Gentle,* in Elizabethan usage, denoted *gentility*; from *gens,* or *genus*: *family,* or *race.* Shakespeare's "wolfish earls" address one another as "gentle Warwick," "gentle Mortimer." (Jonson will presently tell us Shakespeare was high-born.) If the Graver had "a strife . . . to *outdo* [not represent] the life," he was making a caricature. Engravers worked in copper, not *brass*; but Elizabethans used *brass* for *cheek,* as we do. *Hit* is an old form of the past participle of *to hide*; hence *hid.* So the verse may be read:

This *Outline,* that thou here seest put,
It was for *high-born Shakespear cut*
Wherein the Graver had *a fight*
With *Reality, travestying the life*:
O, could he but have drawn his Wit
As *brazenly* as he hath *hid*
His face, the Print would then surpass
All that was ever drawn in a brazen hoax.
So don't expect to find him in his *Picture*:
You will see him revealed in his *Book.*

Following the "phony" letters comes the poem of Leonard Digges, Mr. Hastings' "star witness." But this too is double-talk, for he says, "When Time *dissolves* thy Stratford Monument." It has taken three hundred years for this anticipated dissolution! Digges speaks of "Thy *Tomb*" also, but Jonson says *Shakespeare* is "a Monument *without* a Tomb." *Shaksper* of course has both. Except for Digges' "red herring," the world would have let the Stratford man rest in peace. He would never have been heard of.

Now, having provided a hoax for the gullible public, Ben Jonson makes an about-face and, in his own introductory poem, his "prize exhibit," tells the truth about the noble poet who was forced to sacrifice his great name and forego immortality.

Jonson begins by saying it is "all men's suffrage," or *privilege* (even vulgar actors'), to praise Shakespeare's "Book and Fame." "But *these ways* /Were not the paths *I meant* unto thy praise. /For seeliest *Ignorance*" may be taken in by that which, when "it *sounds* at best but *echoes right.*" ("Shaksper" merely "echoes" "Shakespeare"?) "Blind Affection" will not "advance the truth," while "crafty malice might *pretend* this praise"—that is, might use this praise ostensibly from ignorant actors—intending "to *ruin* where it *seem'd* to *raise.*"

These are as [if] some infamous *Bawd* or *Whore*
Should praise *a Matron. What could hurt her more?*

What indeed *could* have hurt Shakespeare more than this cheap, unworthy praise of his "trifles"? He has not, alas, been "*proof against them. . . . Above th' ill fortune of them.*" They have brought him down to their level, although Jonson will now set us right.

I *therefore will begin.* Soul of the Age!
The applause! delight! the wonder of our Stage!

From now on he gives us *the truth.* He tells us that Shakespeare's "Peers" in point *of time,* "of years," were Lyly, Kyd and Marlowe. (Lyly was Oxford's secretary from 1573.) He makes use of the subjunctive to say, "For *tho* thou hadst small Latin and less Greek, . . . I *would* not seek for names . . . ," that is, "[Even] tho you *had* had, I *would* not": *not* "Since thou *hadst,* I *will* not." It is more double-talk, pleasing to the vainglorious, pedantic Jonson. He adds that Shakespeare has portrayed "all the scenes of Europe": this a "triumph" for "my Britain." "And all the *Muses* still were *in their prime,* /When like *Apollo* he came forth to shine." *This is true.* Oxford was the *first* great Elizabethan dramatist: the others learned from him. Thomas Nashe called him "our *Phoebus,* our first Orpheus, our Master of Invention."

"Nature herself was proud of his designs." He held a "mirror up to nature." Jonson then says he revised his works, "striking a second heat /Upon the Muses anvil," thus contradicting the ventrilo-

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quist's dummies' assertion that "what he thought, he uttered with that easiness, that we have scarce received a blot in his papers."

All pretense now abandoned, Jonson declares that the "gentle" (high-born)

> Shakespear's *mind, and manners* brightly shines
> In his well-turned and true-filed lines:
> In each of which he seems to *shake a Lance*
> As brandish't at *the eyes of Ignorance.*

Thus in his great works he shows himself an aristocrat in mind and spirit, while shaking the "Lance," or Spear, of his wit "at the eyes of [seeliest] Ignorance." Surely this is plain speaking!

Follows the "Sweet Swan of Avon" passage. The Earl of Oxford had three homes on the Avon, and he had been accustomed to act in his plays at the home of the Pembrokes on the Little Avon, where Jonson had sometimes been proudly present. And so, in the end, Jonson, believing perceptive readers would understand, does honor to the true Shakespeare:

> *Shine forth, thou Star of Poets!*

Shakespeare had a universal mind. He "sounded all the depths and shoals of honour." He longed to have his "wounded name" vindicated. It would be to the high credit of those who can appreciate his works to bring recognition and honor, at last, to the great poet himself.

DOROTHY and CHARLTON OGBURN
New York, New York

Brevity will be as difficult for me as I am sure it was for Mr. and Mrs. Ogburn in their rebuttal of my defense of Shakespeare. To that extent we are fellow sufferers. We may also, because of the limitation of space, concede to each other that passing over a particular argument does not imply granting its truth or applicability. We will, I hope, also pardon each other's incoherence in going from point to point.

In the article I attempted to make a brief survey of all the cases against Shakespeare, since in a general view the arguments for a particular substitute author can be seen in truer perspective. I did not single out the Oxfordians for special attack.

"The Stratford man's name always had a short *a*," say the Ogburns. So, I am pleased to note, thinks Kökeritz, who adds examples of the rhyming of "haste" and "hast," "waste" and "wast," "grace" and "grass." Hence the spellings "Shak," "Shack" and "Shake" indicate no difference in pronunciation, and are inconsequential.

"Not one point we have made," they say, "has been refuted." They have not "made a point," that is, advanced any proof, with regard to Shakespeare's alleged ignorance, vulgarity, avariciousness. How can one refute the finding of Oxfordian significance in the presence of a supposed VERE cipher in such common words as "ever," "very," "every"? How can one refute the conjectural romance of Oxford and Elizabeth, resulting in an illegitimate son, Southampton? How can one deal with the "innumerable topical allusions" found in the plays? Other sequences have been found to support the claims of Rutland, Derby, *et al.* Are they as a whole much better than the Baconian ciphers? Might not a skeptic think that the rival discoveries cancel out each other? What kind of idea about the function of drama do they imply?

R. C. Churchill (*Shakespeare and His Betters*) has shown that the Emerson quotation is out of context, and the context shows he was not casting doubt on Shakespeare's authorship.

Henslowe and Alleyn were associated with the Admiral's Men, the rival company to Shakespeare's company, the Chamberlain's Men. The absence of his name from their records means nothing.

"He was never, in his lifetime, referred to as the author of anything." This statement is presumably based on an unexpressed stipulation that in the reference his name must be spelled in the short form. Moreover, the expressed stipulation "in his lifetime" is an illegitimate restriction, based on the intention to assume that all "post mortem" allusions derive from falsehoods spread by Oxford and his friends. Even so, my article cited two allusions to him as

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author prior to his death and might have cited more, including the interesting reference to him in the publisher's blurb to *Troilus and Cressida* (1609) as still alive, five years after the death of Oxford. I decline to accept the restriction of the spelling to "Shaksper."

What of Mr. and Mrs. Ogburn's ten concluding "facts"? The first eight give no support to the Oxford theory; they establish no connection between him and the plays. The ninth toys with the Oxford-Elizabeth-Southampton business but adduces no evidence in support of it, and I have found none. The tenth consists of a set of identifications, all unsupported and unsupportable by evidence.

I pass over the treatment of the Folio evidence as a hoax, which to me seems, I have to confess, a counsel of desperation—not even their advocate, Mr. Bentley (in the *Bar Association Journal* for November, 1959) could bring himself to reject the testimony of Leonard Digges—and I conclude these comments, much later than I meant, with a quotation from my article, upon which nothing I have heard or seen since writing it has cast any doubt:

"Not one theory in support of any one candidate has a single shred of positive evidence behind it. All is pure hypothesis."

WILLIAM T. HASTINGS
Brown University
Providence, Rhode Island

For readers interested in pursuing the Shakespeare controversy

Mr. and Mrs. Ogburn recommend:

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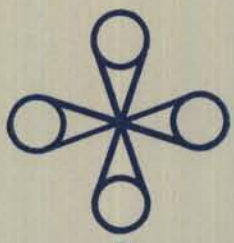

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